Volume 02, Issue 2 ISSN 2563-3392 Autumn 2021 / Winter 2022

Matrix: a Journal for Matricultural Studies

https://www.networkonculture.ca/activities/matrix

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About *Matrix*

Matrix: A Journal for Matricultural Studies (*Matrix*) is an open-access, peer-reviewed and refereed scholarly journal published by the International Network for Training, Education, and Research on Culture (Network on Culture), Canada. *Matrix* is published online twice yearly (Autumn/Winter and Spring/Summer).

Matrix is a new journal in the humanities and social sciences, founded to provide an interdisciplinary forum for those who are working from the theoretical stance of matriculture as a Geertzian cultural system. Similar to other cultural systems such as art, religion, or mathematics, employing the heuristic of matriculture allows for, among other things: cross-cultural comparisons; fresh insights into the social roles of women, men, otherwise identified, children, and the entire community of humans, animals, and the environment; and/or renewed understandings of historically mislabelled cultures. With Guédon's work in mind, then, and based on Geertzian principles, the concept of matriculture is both a model *of* reality by rendering the structure of matricultures apprehensible and a model *for* reality, where psychological relationships are organized under its guidance.

We encourage submissions from scholars around the world who are ready to take a new look at the ways in which people - historically and currently - have organized meaningful relationships amongst themselves and with the natural environment, the myths, customs, and laws which support these relationships, and the ways in which researchers have documented and perhaps mis-labeled the matricultures they have encountered.

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Matrix: A Journal for Matricultural Studies

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Introduction

(*english*)

JUDITH DAXOOTSU RAMOS, MAT

I would like to introduce myself. My name is Judith Daxootsu Ramos, I am Raven moiety, from the Kwaáshki'kwaan clan, Tisk'w Hit (Owl House). I am the daughter of the L'uknax̲.ádi (Coho) Clan from Dry Bay, Alaska, and granddaughter of the Eagle Teikweidí (Brown Bear) clan from Ahrnklin River. I currently live and work on the land of Áak'w K̲wáan on Lingít Aani (Tlingit people) in Juneau, Alaska.

Elaine Chewshaa Abraham, Judith Daxootsu Ramos, Maka Keixé Yaxtí Monture-Paki, Kwaashki'kwaan Clan, Tisk'w Hit (Owl House)

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This issue focuses on the Indigenous cultures of the Pacific Northwest coast of North America. While the transmission of traditional knowledge has been disrupted because of pandemics, colonization, residential schools, and Christian missionaries, today's Indigenous young people are revitalizing their culture, dancing, art, ceremonies, and languages. This issue features Indigenous and non-Indigenous authors presenting aspects of our cultures pertaining to women's lives, ceremonies, and art. Through the contributions we present here, a theme – sometimes underlying, sometimes explicit – weaves its way through the pages: that of cultural continuity. This theme unfolds in very concrete ways which highlight the work of women in establishing the necessary links for the transmission of values, language, and knowledge upon which Indigenous identities are established.

Northwest Coast peoples occupy the area from Yakutat Bay, Alaska, down the coast of British Columbia and south into the contiguous USA through the Oregon-California border. They speak many languages belonging to at least ten distinct linguistic families and are divided into more than forty nations.

The southern groups, including the Nuu'Chah'Nuth on Vancouver Island, are culturally very diverse and the matricultural core of these societies varies from one group to the next. The northern groups, speaking Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian and Athapaskan languages, share several uniting features and, most relevant to this journal, the fact that their social systems, though differing from one group to the next, are all matrilineal. Furthermore, as coastal people, their diet is focused on the harvest of marine mammals and fish, especially salmon. They enjoy abundant, albeit seasonal, food resources. All have developed elaborate stratified societies, with lineages and clans as well as large winter villages, and intricate art forms displaying inherited crests images and paraphernalia, or serving in rituals which celebrate the relationship between the humans, animals, and other nonhuman beings that populate our world. While their worldviews differ, they remain compatible.

This issue contains contributions from two members of the Tlingit community of the Pacific Northwest Coast: Diane L'xeis' Benson and Meda DeWitt. These contributions relate, on the one hand, the community context and, on the other, the ritual context for the process of establishing a woman's Tlingit identity.

In 'We Are A Net', Diane L'xeis' Benson introduces the Tlingit ways of building strong personal relationships between women, which in turn strengthen and deepen the local Tlingit community. The author, who is a politician, an inspirational speaker, a video production consultant, a published writer and a dramaturge, shares the story and resilience of five Indigenous women that live in a small, mostly Norwegian city in Southeast Alaska. Most of the women are 'elder' women; each has experienced a different journey, but through sharing of food, 'knowledge, stories and laughter,' they have woven a bond of trust with each other.

In sharing the short book she co-wrote with Jennifer Andrulli, *Women's Rites of Passage*, originally published by the Anchorage Museum in Alaska, Meda DeWitt introduces the content of teachings and rites of passage shaping the life and identity of Indigenous women, according to their respective

cultures. Using historical stories and accounts and providing an Indigenous perspective, this booklet discusses seven different Indigenous cultures of Alaska. The publication was part of a series of virtual discussions on the importance of Tlingit women's coming-of-age ceremonies (puberty rites), menstruation huts, and women's rituals hosted by the Anchorage Museum, and we are very pleased to be able to include a video recording entitled *Traditional Healing & Coming of Age: A Conversation with Meda DeWitt*, originally broadcast by the Anchorage Museum on 4 September 2020.

Sharing the theme of these community contributions, in 'A Retrospective on the Voices of Nuu'Chan'Nuth Women,' scholar Jacky Moore revisits with us the strength and wisdom she discovered through stories shared with her by Nuu'Chah'Nuth women from the west coast of Vancouver Island. Through their voices, she shows how they are advocates for their culture, traditions, and for the women themselves, as well as demonstrating that not only are they involved in all preparations for ceremonies, they also hold key roles in many of these very ceremonies. In 1939, anthropologist Edward Sapir described the ceremonies and lives of Nuu'Chah'Nuth women, along with the importance of their role and status in Nuu'Chah'Nuth society, in *Nootka Tales: Tales and Ethnological Narratives*. Canada's ban on potlatches and other ritual gatherings, however, not only suppressed the puberty potlatches held traditionally to honour young women, it also imposed restrictions on other traditional women's gatherings and cultural events in general. Women retained the songs and dances despite this oppressive legislation; they taught them to the next generation and they also created and owned new songs. For example, one woman shared with Moore the ceremonies, rituals, and teachings around the birth of children and the role of midwives, discussing how, during this time, other women supported and cared for the new mother. Traditional birthing practices and the reliance on midwives are some of the traditions being revived and re-taught today. Other important ceremonies are the celebration of the first year of a child's life, and the puberty and coming-of-age rituals and ceremonies. According to Jacky Moore, the resilience, tenacity and resistance of these women have enabled them to ensure that their knowledge and values, which go beyond the female circle to enrich the whole community, can be transmitted to future generations.

In her research report, "Mythological Narratives and Women's Expression in the Northern Northwest Coast", Kierra Beament presents the preliminary results of a research project on weaving, basketry and other art forms often associated with women among the Indigenous communities of the northern Northwest Pacific Coast, that is, the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian peoples. Due to current circumstances, including the Covid 19 pandemic, Beament had to delay her in-person engagement with the artists with whom she wants to work and, instead, explored archives and texts. These texts include a group of documents rarely consulted when we work on material culture: mythology and stories. By exploring the literature about Indigenous oral culture of the Pacific coast, she discovered that the myths contain relatively numerous mentions of objects made by women. The gendered context, that is to say, the attribution of the production of these objects and their decoration to one gender or another, turned out to be less rigid than expected, and it seems that women have had access to the domain of crests for a long time. Art collectors realized that baskets, hats, wild goat wool blankets, and other woven works, along with their decorative geometric patterns, had an aesthetic value equivalent to the sculpture and paintings - made mostly by men - to carry the crests. The myths,

however, unveil a more fundamental value, one that unfolds socially, culturally, and spiritually by affirming the sacred intervention of mythical powers in the creation and teaching of basketry and weaving techniques, among other skills used especially by women. From there a link can be made, one announced by the mythological texts which often give an active and leading role to the heroines, between the respect granted to the women in the oral literature and the intervention of the powers which govern the world beyond the human community, a world with which women have daily contact. The proximity of the myths and the teaching they propagate supports the current revival of traditional techniques, and the respect granted to them.

Frederica de Laguna's research paper 'Matrilineal Kin Groups in Northwestern North America' is reproduced here thanks to the generous permission of the University of Ottawa Press, who hold copyright over the text first presented at the 1971 Northern Athapaskan conference organized by the Museum of Man (today the Canadian Museum of History). It was originally published in 1975 with the proceedings of that conference, part of the Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnological Service Paper No. 27.

The research was decisive at the time and continues to be influential, because it resolved a long-standing question, contentious among both Indigenous communities and scholarly disciplines, about the origins of matrilineal kin groups in northwestern North America, including the people of the Pacific Northwest Coast (British Columbia and Alaska), inland Alaska, the Yukon Territory, and the Northwest Territories. The contention was based upon a resemblance between the names or crests identifying kin groups among the coastal societies and the names or crest of the Inland peoples, mostly Athapaskan speakers, and anthropologists had deduced that these names had originated on the coast and were subsequently 'borrowed' by the Inland peoples, along with with certain kinship features such as cross-cousin marriage. Up until half a century ago, some authors, such as George Peter Murdock, maintained that matrilineal kinship groups were unthinkable in the case of hunter-gatherer peoples such as the Northern Athapaskans because matrilineality was only possible for sedentary peoples who depended on the work of women and that the demonstrable system of matrilineal kinship among Athapaskan peoples must have been introduced from outside, fairly recently. Some of Murdock's colleagues relied on the fact that similar clan names were sometimes found among different nations, this resemblance between the names identifying the groups (and the crests) of the kinship groups being easy to note, for example, between certain coastal groups such as the Tsimshian and the Tlingit and their Athapaskan neighbors inland. They deduced from this that the system of the Athapaskan clans was simply 'borrowed' from the coastal clans at the same time as the rules of marriage favouring unions between cross cousins (rules frequent among matrilineal peoples). But other ethnologists, such as Catherine McClellan, a collaborator of Frederica de Laguna, insisted on the general and ancient character of the structures of clans and matrilineal moieties based on the fact that practically all the Athapaskan groups of Alaska and Yukon are matrilineal, even those who are simultaneously hunter-gatherers, semi-nomadic, and located far from the coasts.

As for the coastal peoples, the Tsimshian, Haida and Tlingit, their matrilineal kinship systems were attributed sometimes to the abundance of resources allowing an almost sedentary life, sometimes to

the work of the women who were responsible for drying and preserving the salmon. Neighbouring peoples to the north and south, though, while living in similar environments, did not and do not share the matrilineal option.

Frederica de Laguna studied and lived many years with the Tlingit people and their neighbours - from 1921 until her death in 2004 - and worked with many Athapaskan peoples, such as the Dena in the Yukon valley and the Ahtna all along the Copper River valley. Wherever she went, she learned about the cultures of these peoples and, in particular, with colleagues such as Catherine McClellan, was given detailed data on kinship systems, clan names, and moieties. She found that the matrilineal kinship groups, including clan systems grouped into two halves or three phratries, as well as a significant proportion of the names identifying the clans, were found throughout a vast region: through the Alaskan interior from the far northwest to the Yukon Territory in Canada and on into the western Canadian subarctic, and descending, on the one hand, along the Pacific coast and, on the other hand, towards the central plateaus of British Columbia between the Rocky Mountains and the Coastal Range, and pushing even farther south, among the Athapaskans of the American Southwest, such as the Navaho people. This study is the culmination of immense and meticulous comparative work which is based on ethnographic research as complete as it could be at the time, and whose conclusions remain unassailable: the matrilineal Athapaskan clans and their names are not the result of a diffusion inland from the Coast, they are part of a kinship system anciently rooted in the parent culture of the Athapaskans, or Dene, as they call themselves. Moreover, the kinship systems of the coastal peoples, while being relatively compatible, are sufficiently different from each other for us to recognize their antiquity on the one hand and, on the other, the influence they exerted and still exert on each other, for example with inter-tribal marriages, or with the arrival of a group of immigrants who introduce new names and new crests.

The interest of such a document, essential for anyone interested in North American matricultures, is not only theoretical. It is also a basic reference for tracing the old kinship systems, reaffirming the matrilineal character of these societies, and recovering knowledge that has now disappeared from the social context of many Indigenous communities converted to kinship systems of European origin, systems that do not easily tolerate overtly influential matricultural systems.

As a complement to de Laguna's study and for readers looking for more information about Dene / Athapaskan kinship systems, matriliny among southern Athapaskan peoples, or the social organization of the other Dene peoples, a monograph by Isidore Dyen and David Aberle, *Lexical Reconstruction: The Case of the Proto-Athapaskan Kinship System* (CUP, 1974), is invaluable. Dyen and Aberle offer precise and technical data on the terms of kinship and their evolution in all the northern and southern Athapaskan, while confirming the ascendancy of matrilineal systems on the social organization of these groups.

Dr. Frederica de Laguna was interested in all facets of the cultures she encountered. In the spirit of celebrating her life and work, we are republishing here a short article, untitled in the original version, about the gendered landscape around Yakutat, Alaska, the region of my origins. Although brief, this

text introduces an essential aspect of our culture: the relations between humans and other beings, animals, rivers, or mountains, and, for example, the extension of our social relations and our concepts of marriage and kinship to the mountains around us, to their 'children,' and to glaciers whose male or female gender demands the appropriate ritual approach.

Being personally acquainted with Kuxaankutaan, as Dr. De Laguna was named by Katy Dixon Isaac when we adopted her into the Gineix Kwaan clan of the Raven Moiety, it is with great pleasure that I share some reminiscences recorded by my mother and myself about the song Kuxaankutaan composed for Sharon Goodwin's memorial potlatch in 1986. The article was first published in *Arctic Anthropology* in 2006, and we are grateful to be able to reprint it here.

To conclude this issue, we return to an Indigenous voice with Linnéa Rowlatt's review of *Xwelíqwiya: The Life of a Stó:lõ Matriarch*, dictated by Rena Point Bolton and transcribed and edited by Richard Daly (AU Press, 2013). The book is Bolton's autobiography and through a sensitive process of listening and conversational vignettes, Daly not only skilfully shares the story of the Xwélmexw artist and craftswoman, but introduces a voice which is familiar with lifeways, skills, craftwork, and teachings that were long hidden from colonial actors in Canada. Xweliqwiya's contributions to the cultural continuity of her people have been crucial to the revival occurring today.

The various communities mentioned in this issue are facing a similar colonial past and similar losses; in spite of their linguistic and cultural differences, they are not isolated. They are united by the will to regain essential parts of their cultural heritage, and by their expressed determination not to return to the past but rather to build on it. The women of these communities have taken explicit responsibility for this task. They are not following the injunction brought by the colonizers - against their ancient cultural values - to limit themselves to domestic and local community work. Instead they speak and write and publish their ideas, they organize workshops and study groups, they travel to conferences within Canada and abroad, they challenge scholars, and they are involved in politics. They also prepare art shows and they organize feasts, where children join forces with grandparents to revive the ritual songs and dances of yesteryear.

We do not know to what extent the predominance of matrilineal kinship systems and the strong matricultural systems in place in these societies contributes to their cultural effervescence. We do know that the matricultural systems are everywhere considered by Indigenous women as an essential part of their cultural identity, a part to be protected and promoted.

GunalchÈesh haat yee.aadi. Thank you all for reading this issue. Avec nos remerciements pour votre attention.

Judith Daxootsu Ramos
Juneau, Alaska
November 2021

Volume 02, Numéro 2 Autumne 2021 / Hiver 2022 Pages 7 - 12

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Introduction

(*français*)

JUDITH DAXOOTSU RAMOS, MAT

Laissez-moi me présenter: Je m'appelle Judith Daxootsu Ramos; je suis née dans la Tisk'w Hit (la noble maison du Hibou) du clan Kwaáshki'kwaan, de la la moitié du Corbeau; fille du clan du Uknax̲.ádi (Saumon Coho) situé à Dry Bay, Alaska, et petite fille du clan de l'Aigle – clan des Teikweidí (Ours brun) situé sur la rivière Ahrnklin. Je vis et travaille présentement sur le territoire des Áak'w K̲wáan, des Lingít Aani (peuple Tlingit) à Juneau, en Alaska.

Elaine Chewshaa Abraham, Judith Daxootsu Ramos, Maka Keixé Yaxtí Monture-Paki, clan Kwaáshki'kwaan, Tisk'w Hit (maison du Hibou)

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Ce numéro a pour thème les cultures indigènes du nord de la côte Nord-ouest du Pacifique de l'Amerique du Nord. Bien que les pandémies, la colonisation par les Européens, l'institution des pensionnats et les actions des missionnaires chrétiens, entres autres facteurs, aient dérangé la transmission des connaissances traditionnelles, les jeunes d'aujourd'hui travaillent à revitaliser leurs cultures, leurs arts, leurs danses et cérémonies, et leurs langues. Ce numéro, auquel ont contribué des auteurs autochtones et non-autochtones, présente des aspects de nos cultures qui concernent tous la vie des femmes, leurs rituels, et leurs contributions artistiques. À travers les contributions que nous présentons ici, un thème parfois sous-jacent, parfois explicite, se tisse au fil des pages : celui de la continuité culturelle. Ce thème se déploie sur des plans très concrets qui mettent en évidence le travail des femmes dans l'établissement des liens nécessaires à la transmission des valeurs, de la langue et des connaissances sur lesquelles s'établissent les identités autochtones.

Les peuples de la Côte du Nord-Ouest occupent une région qui s'étend depuis la Baie de Yakutat, Alaska, au Nord, descendant vers le sud, le long des côtes, en passant par la Colombie Britannique, jusqu'à la frontière entre l'Orégon et la Californie. Ils parlent de nombreuses langues différentes appartenant à plus d'une dizaine de familles linguistiques et sont réparties entre plus de quarante nations.

Les groupes méridionaux, y compris les Nuu'Chah'Nuth sur l'ile de Vancouver, sont culturellement très diversifiés, et le noyau matriculturel de ces sociétés se décline en de nombreuses variantes. Par contre, les groupes septentrionaux, qui parlent les langues tlingit, haida, tsimshianne et athapascannes, partagent plusieurs caractéristiques communes qui contribuent à une certaine unité. En particulier, leurs systèmes sociaux, bien que distincts, sont tous construits sur des clans matrilinéaires. De plus, en tant que peuples côtiers, ils dépendent de ressources marines et riveraines similaires : mammifères marins et poissons, dont les saumons en particulier. Ils jouissent de ressources alimentaires abondantes, quoique saisonnières. Tous ont développé des sociétés stratifiées avec de grand villages hivernaux où les maisons nobles, lignages et clans affichent leurs blasons et autres privilèges héréditaires par l'entremise de représentations peintes, sculptées ou animées par des danses, des chants, des masques et autres média qui mettent en scène et célèbrent les relations entre les humains, les animaux, et autres êtres non humains qui peuplent le monde. Leurs visions du monde sont différentes mais compatibles.

Ce numéro contient deux contributions offertes par deux membres de communautés tlingit sur la côte nord-ouest du Pacifique, Diane L'xeis' Benson et Meda DeWitt. Ces contributions relatent l'une le contexte communautaire, l'autre le contexte rituel, du processus conduisant à l'établissement d'une identité tlingit féminine.

Avec « We Are A Net, » (« Nous sommes un filet de pêche »), Diane L'xeis' Benson introduit le mode tlingit de construire des relations interpersonnelles solides entre femmes, qui mène à renforcer et étendre les liens de la communauté tlingit locale. L'autrice, qui est politicienne, conférencière, consultante pour la production de vidéo, et dramaturge, raconte l'histoire et la résilience de cinq

femmes autochtones qui vivent dans une petite ville à majorité norvégienne du sud-ouest de l'Alaska. La plupart de ces femmes sont des "ainées"; chacune a traversé une expérience de vie distincte. Mais avec le partage de nourriture, de connaissances, d'histoires et de rires, elles tissent entre elles des liens de confiance.

En présentant le livret qu'elle a coécrit avec Jennifer Andrulli, *Women's Rites of Passage* (*Rites de passage féminins*), d'abord publié par le Anchorage Museum en Alaska, Meda DeWitt introduit le contenu des enseignements et des rites de passage informant la vie et l'identité des femmes autochtones, selon leurs cultures respectives. À partir de récits et comptes-rendus historiques sur lesquels il apporte une perspective autochtone, ce livret aborde sept cultures alaskannes différentes. Sa publication faisait, à l'origine, partie d'une série de discussion virtuelles organisées par le Musée d'Anchorage, Alaska, sur l'importance des rites de passage à l'état adulte (rites de puberté), des huttes de menstruation, et des autres rituels féminins. Nous sommes très heureux de pouvoir inclure un enregistrement vidéo de « Traditional Healing and Coming of Age : A Conversation with Meda DeWitt » (« Guérison traditionnelle et passage à l'état adulte : une conversation avec Meda DeWitt ») initialement diffusé par le Musée d'Anchorage le 4 septembre 2020.

Dans la lignée de ces témoignages, Jacky Moore, dans « A Retrospective on the Voices of Nuu'Chan'Nuth Women », revisite pour nous la force et la sagesse apprises à l'écoute de femmes Nuu'Chah'Nuth dont les communautés occupent la côte ouest de l'île de Vancouver. À travers les voix de ces femmes, Jackie Moore décrit leurs engagements à plaider pour leur culture, pour leurs traditions et pour elles-mêmes. Elle démontre que ces femmes ne sont pas seulement impliquées dans la préparation des cérémonies, mais qu'elles y maintiennent des rôles formels et essentiels. Dans une ethnographie publiée en 1939, *Nootka Tales: Tales and Ethnological Narratives*, l'anthropologue Edward Sapir décrivait les rituels et la vie des femmes Nuu'Chah'Nuth et démontrait l'importance de leurs rôles et de leur statut social. Lorsque le gouvernement canadien interdit formellement les potlatches (fêtes traditionnelles) et autres assemblées rituelles, cette loi bannissait entre autres les fêtes par lesquelles on annonçait et célébrait la puberté des jeunes femmes, mais elle imposait aussi des restrictions sur les activités sociales de toutes les femmes, et sur les événements culturels communautaires en général. Ce furent les femmes qui, en dépit d'une législation opprimante, se transmirent d'une génération à l'autre les chants, les danses et les gestes essentiels à la vie rituelle, et qui non seulement les gardèrent en mémoire, mais en créèrent et posséderent de nouveaux. Par exemple, l'une de femmes décrivit à Jacky Moore les cérémonies, rituels et enseignements marquant la naissance des enfants, les pratiques des sages-femmes, et le rôle d'autres femmes qui prenaient soin de l'accouchée. Les pratiques traditionnelles de la naissance et le recours aux sages-femmes font partie des enseignements accessibles aujourd'hui dans ces communautés; car, d'après Jacky Moore, la résilience, la ténacité et la résistance de ces femmes leur ont permis de faire en sorte que leurs connaissances et leurs valeurs, qui débordent du cercle féminin pour enrichir toute la communauté, puissent être transmises aux générations à venir.

Dans son rapport de recherche, « Mythological Narratives and Women's Expression in Northern Northwest Coast Art » (« Récits mythologiques et l'expression des femmes dans l'art de la côte nord-ouest »), Kierra Beament présente les résultats préliminaires d'un projet de recherche sur le tissage, la vannerie et autres formes d'art souvent associées aux femmes, chez les communautés autochtones du nord de la côte nord-ouest américaine, c'est-à-dire les peuples tlingit, haida et tsimshian. En raison des circonstances actuelles, dont la pandémie de Covid 19, KIerra Beament a dû retarder ses engagements avec les artistes avec lesquelles elle voulait travailler et s'est concentrée sur les archives et sur les textes, dont un groupe de documents rarement consultés lorsqu'on travaille sur la culture matérielle, en l'occurrence la mythologie et les contes. En explorant la littérature orale indigène de la côte pacifique, elle a découvert que les mythes contiennent des mentions relativement nombreuses des objets faits par des femmes. Le contexte genré, c'est-à-dire l'attribution de la production de ces objets et de leur décoration à tel ou tel genre, s'est révélé moins rigide que prévu, et il semble que les femmes aient eu accès au domaine des blasons depuis fort longtemps. Les collectionneurs d'art ont réalisé que les paniers, chapeaux, couvertures en laine de chèvre sauvage, et autres ouvrages tissés, et leurs motifs décoratifs géométriques, avaient une valeur esthétique équivalente aux sculpture et peintures faites surtout par les hommes pour supporter les blasons; les mythes, cependant, ont dévoilé une valeur plus fondamentale qui se déploie sur les plans social, culturel et spirituel en affirmant l'intervention sacrée des puissances mythiques dans la création et l'enseignement des techniques de vannerie et de tissage entre autres techniques utilisées surtout par les femmes. D'où un lien, par ailleurs annoncé par les textes mythologiques qui donnent souvent un rôle actif et de premier plan aux héroïnes, entre le respect accordé aux femmes dans la littérature orale et l'intervention des puissances qui régissent le monde au-delà de la communauté humaine, un monde avec lequel les femmes entretiennent des rapports quotidiens. La proximité des mythes et de l'enseignement qu'ils propagent supporte le renouveau actuel des techniques traditionnelles, et le respect qui leur est accordé.

L'étude par Frederica de Laguna sur les groupes de parenté matrilinéaires en Alaska et dans les pays voisins, « Matrilineal Kin Groups in Northwestern North America » est reproduite ici grâce à la permission généreuse des presses de l'université d'Ottawa, qui détiennent les droits d'auteurs sur le texte original d'abord présenté lors de la Conférence de 1971 sur les peuples athapascans organisée par le Musée de l'Homme (aujourd'hui le Musée canadien de l'Histoire), puis publié dans les actes de la conférence, dans la collection Mercure du Service canadien d'Ethnologie, no 27, 1975.

Cette étude, déterminante à l'époque, continue à faire autorité, car elle a résolu la question longtemps épineuse pour les ethnologues comme pour les peuples autochtones, des origines de la matrilinéalité et des groupes de parenté matrilinéaires dans le Nord-ouest du continent nord-américain, y compris les habitants de la côte nord-ouest du Pacifique (Colombie-Britannique et Alaska), de l'intérieur de l'Alaska, du territoire du Yukon et des Territoires du Nord-Ouest. La dispute était basée sur une ressemblance entre les noms ou les blasons identifiant les groupes de parenté parmi les sociétés côtières et les noms ou les blasons des peuples de l'intérieur, principalement des locuteurs athapascans; les anthropologues en avaient déduit que ces noms étaient originaires de la côte et par

la suite « empruntés » par les peuples de l'intérieur, ainsi que certaines caractéristiques de parenté telles que le mariage entre cousins croisés. Il y a plus d'un demi-siècle, certains auteurs, tels George Peter Murdock maintenaient que les groupes de parenté matrilinéaires sont impensables dans le cas des peuples de chasseurs-cueilleurs, comme les Athapascans septentrionaux, affirmant que la matrilinéarité n'est possible que pour des peuples sédentaires qui dépendent du travail des femmes et que le système de parenté matrilinéaire avéré chez des peuples athapascans devait avoir été introduit récemment de l'extérieur. Certains des collègues de Murdock s'appuyaient sur le fait que les noms des clans se retrouvaient parfois d'une nation à l'autre; cette ressemblance entre les noms identifiant les groupes (et les blasons) des groupes de parenté étant facile à constater par exemple entre certains groupes côtiers comme les Tsimshian et les Tlingit et leur voisins athapascans de l'intérieur de terres. Ils en déduisaient que le système des clans athapascans était simplement empruntés aux clans côtiers, en même temps que les règles de mariage favorisant les unions entre cousins croisés (des règles fréquentes chez les peuples matrilinéaires). Mais d'autres ethnologues, tel Catherine McClellan, une collaboratrice de Frederica de Laguna, insistaient sur le caractère général et ancien des structures de clans et de moitiés matrilinéaires en se basant sur le fait que pratiquement tous les groupes athapascan de l'Alaska et du Yukon sont matrilinéaires, même ceux qui sont à la fois chasseurs-cueilleurs, semi-nomades, et situés loin des côtes.

Quand aux peuples côtiers, les Tsimshian, Haida, Tlingit, et Eyak, la matrilinealité de leurs systèmes de parenté était attribuée tantôt à l'abondance des ressources permettant une vie quasi sédentaire, tantôt au travail des femmes qui avaient la responsabilité du séchage et de la conservation des saumons, quoique que les peuples voisins au nord et au sud, vivant dans des environnements similaires aient définitivement écarté l'option matrilinéaire.

Frederica de Laguna a travaillé pendant de longues années, à partir de 1921 et jusqu'à sa mort en 2004, parmi les Tlingits et leurs voisins, et avec plusieurs peuples athapascans dont les Dena, dans la vallée du Yukon, et les Ahtna le long de la vallée de la rivière Copper. Partout où elle est passée, elle a recueilli des informations sur les cultures de tous ces peuples, et en particulier, avec ses collègues comme Catherine McClellan, des données détaillées sur les systèmes de parenté, les noms des clans et des moitiés. Elle a constaté que les groupes de parenté matrilinéaires, comme le système de clans regroupés en deux moitiés ou trois phratries, ainsi qu'une proportion importante des noms identifiant les clans, se retrouvaient le long d'une vaste région : Cette région s'étend à travers l'intérieur de l'Alaska de l'extrême nord-ouest au territoire canadien du Yukon et dans le subarctique canadien occidental, descendant d'une part le long des côtes du Pacifique, et d'autre part, vers le plateau en Colombie Britannique entre les ,ontagnes Rocheuses et la chaîne Côtière, et pousse plus loin jusque chez les Athapascans du Sud-ouest américain comme les Navahos. Cette étude est l'aboutissement d'un travail comparatif immense et minutieux qui s'appuie sur une recherche ethnographique aussi complète qu'elle pouvait l'être à l'époque, et dont les conclusions demeurent inattaquables : Les clans athapascans matrilinéaires et leurs noms ne sont pas le résultat d'une diffusion de la côte vers l'intérieur des terres, ils font partie d'un système de parenté anciennement enraciné dans la culture-souche des Athapascans, ou Dénés, comme ils s'appellent eux-mêmes. Par ailleurs, les systèmes de

parenté des peuples côtiers, tout en étant relativement compatibles, sont suffisamment différents les uns des autres pour qu'on en reconnaisse l'antiquité d'une part et, d'autre part, l'influence qu'ils exercèrent et exercent encore les uns sur les autres, par exemple avec les mariages inter-tribaux, ou avec l'arrivée de groupes d'immigrants qui introduisent de nouveaux noms et de nouveaux blasons.

L'intérêt d'un tel document, incontournable pour quiconque s'intéresse aux matricultures nord-américaines, n'est pas seulement théorique. C'est aussi une référence de base pour retracer les anciens systèmes de parenté, réaffirmer le caractère matrilinéaire de ces sociétés, et faire renaître des connaissances aujourd'hui disparues du contexte social des nombreuses communautés autochtones converties aux systèmes de parenté d'origine européenne, des systèmes qui ne tolèrent pas facilement les systèmes matriculturels ouvertement influents.

Comme complément à l'étude de Frederica de Laguna, et pour les lecteurs à la recherche d'informations supplémentaires sur les systèmes de parenté dénés / athapascans, les matrilignées chez les peuples athapascans du sud ou l'organisation sociale des autres peuples dénés, Isidore Dyen et Davis Aberle ont complété, à la même époque, une analyse linguistique monumentale : *Lexical Reconstruction: The Case of the Proto-Athapaskan Kinship System* (CUP, 1974) (*Reconstruction lexicale : le cas du système de parenté proto-athapascan*) qui offre des données précises et techniques sur les termes de parenté et leur évolution dans tous les groupes athapascans du nord et du sud, tout en confirmant l'emprise des systèmes matrilinéaires sur l'organisation sociale de ces groupes.

Frederica de Laguna s'intéressait à toutes les facettes des cultures qu'elle côtoyait. Dans un esprit de célébration de sa vie et de son œuvre, nous republions ici un court article, sans titre dans la version originelle, concernant le paysage genré autour de Yakutat, Alaska, la région de mes origines. Bien que bref, ce texte introduit un aspect essentiel de notre culture, c'est-à-dire les relations entre les humains et les autres êtres, animaux, rivières, ou montagnes, et, par exemple l'extension de nos relations sociales, et de notre conception du mariage et de la parenté aux montagnes qui nous entourent, à leurs « enfants », et aux glaciers dont le genre masculin ou féminin demande une approche rituelle appropriée.

Puisque j'ai connu personnellement Ku<u>x</u>aankutaan, le nom que Dr. De Laguna a reçu de Katy Dixon Isaac quand elle fut adoptée dans le clan des Ginei<u>x</u> Kwaan de la moitié du Corbeau, c'est avec beaucoup de plaisir et de reconnaissance que je partage quelques-uns des souvenirs enregistrés par ma mère et moi au sujet du chant que Ku<u>x</u>aankutaan a composée pour le potlatch commémoratif de Sharon Goodwin en 1986. Ces souvenirs furent d'abord publiés en 2006 dans *Arctic Anthropology* qui nous ont gracieusement permis de les republier ici.

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Pour conclure, nous retournons à une voix autochtone, avec la recension par Linnéa Rowlatt d'une autobiographie issue d'une communauté Stó:lõ, un des peuples Salish de la Colombie Britannique : *Xwelíqwiya : The Life of a Stó:lõ Matriarch* (AU Press, 2013) (*Xwelíqwiya : La vie d'une matriarche Stó:lõ*). Ce livre est l'autobiographie de Bolton; à travers un processus sensible d'écoute et de vignettes

conversationnelles, Daly partage habilement l'histoire de l'artiste et artisane Xwélmexw, et présente également une voix qui est experte dans des façons de vivre, des techniques traditionnelles et des enseignements longtemps cachés loin des acteurs coloniaux au Canada. La contribution apportée par Xweliqwiya à la continuité et revitalisation culturelle de son peuple se révèle cruciale.

Les différentes communautés évoquées dans ce numéro sont confrontées à un passé colonial similaire et à des pertes culturelles similaires; malgré leurs différences linguistiques et culturelles, elles ne sont pas isolées. Elles se retrouvent dans la volonté commune de regagner les parties essentielles de leur héritage culturel, et dans leur détermination non pas à retourner au passé, mais de construire un présent. Les femmes de ces communautés ont explicitement pris cette charge en main. Elles ne suivent pas les directives émises par les autorités coloniales leur enjoignant (en contradiction avec les valeurs traditionnelles) de se limiter aux travaux domestiques et aux bonnes œuvres communautaires locales. Au contraire, elles parlent, écrivent et publient leurs idées, elles organisent des ateliers et des groupes d'étude, elles participent à des conférences, au Canada et à l'étranger, et elles contestent les chercheurs, et elles s'impliquent dans l'arène politique. Elles préparent des expositions d'art, et elles organisent des fêtes où les enfants s'allient aux grands-parents pour faire revivre les chants et les danses rituelles d'antan.

Nous ignorons dans quelle mesure la prédominance des systèmes de parenté matrilinéaires, et la forte influence des systèmes matriculturels en place dans ces sociétés, contribuent à cette effervescence culturelle. Nous savons que les systèmes matriculturels sont partout considérés par les femmes autochtones comme une partie essentielle de leur identité culturelle, une partie à protéger et à promouvoir..

GunalchÈesh haat yee.aadi. Avec nos remerciements pour votre attention. Thank you all for reading this issue.

Judith Daxootsu Ramos
Juneau, Alaska
Novembre 2021

Volume 02, Issue 2 Autumn 2021 / Winter 2022 Pages 13 - 33

Matrix: A Journal for Matricultural Studies

https://www.networkonculture.ca/activities/matrix

A Retrospective on the Voices of Nuu'Chah'Nulth Women

JACKY MOORE, PhD

Abstract

"I remember my Aunt Nessie, my grandmother's sister, piercing my ears … The purpose of piercing a little girl's ears was so they would grow up to be good listeners."[1] *These words are from an interview with a Nuu'Chah'Nulth woman (a member of an Indigenous community located on Vancouver Island) who reaffirmed the timing of this delightful ceremony, usually carried out a few days after the birth of a little girl, stressing the importance of women being good listeners.*

This extract is one of many examples from the words of Nuu'Chah'Nulth women that comprised the main text of my PhD thesis The Hidden Voices of Nuu'Chah'Nulth Women. *Through a series of interviews with women aged sixty years or more, it emerged that women were the mainstay of their communities, that - despite colonialism, reserve living, the introduction of smallpox and dwindling population figures and land - the women ensured their communities would survive through their economic skills as chief providers for the sustainability of everyone. The interviews also showed how, as grandmothers and mothers, women accepted both traditional and modern responsibilities for the survival and continuity of their people, and how Nuu'Chah'Nulth women have used whatever opportunities presented to develop and market their skills by integrating cultural practices and skills into their developing economy.*

Fundamental to their beliefs is a commitment to family, to community, to place and to tradition. By sharing examples of Nuu'Chah'Nulth celebrations, these women's narratives take us forward to a greater understanding of the depth and wealth of a culture which colonisation has all but wiped out. What I heard about birthing, healing rituals, coming-of-age ceremonies, and historical protocols was shared through storytelling. The women had

1 Interview with Jackie Watts, May 2009: p15 transcript.

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healed themselves to become stronger, to educate themselves, to train as lawyers, doctors, community developers, and social workers in order to support their communities and to pass on traditional knowledge.

Key words: Nuu'Chah'Nulth women, potlatch and ceremonies, intergenerational transmission, water and healing

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Résumé

« Je me souviens de ma tante Nessie, la sœur de ma grand'mère, me perçant les oreilles… Percer les oreilles d'une petite fille a pour but d'en faire quelqu'un qui écoute bien en grandissant. » Ces mots proviennent d'un entretien avec une femme Nuu'Chah'Nulth (membre d'une communauté autochtone située sur l'île de Vancouver) qui ré-affirmait ainsi le sens de ce rituel, habituellement tenu quelques jours après la naissance d'une petite fille, en soulignant l'importance d'une écoute attentive parmi les qualités d'une femme.

Cet extrait est l'un des nombreux exemples des enseignements offerts par les femmes Nuu'Chah'Nulth et composant le corpus et texte principal de ma thèse de doctorat, The Hidden Voices of Nuu'Chah'Nulth Women. *À travers une série d'entretiens avec des femmes agées de soixante ans et plus, on voit émerger le fait que les femmes furent les piliers de leurs communautés : En dépit de la colonisation euro-américaine, la vie dans les réserves, les épidémies de variole et autres maladies, la décroissance démographique, et la diminution des terres, les femmes continuèrent à assurer la survie de leurs communautés sur le plan économique en tant que principales pourvoyeuses. Et en tant que mères et grand'mères, elles continuèrent à assumer leurs responsabilités traditionnelles tout en endossant les responsabilités du monde moderne. Les entretiens démontrent qu'en particulier les femmes usèrent de toutes les opportunités pour développer et mettre en marché leurs connaissances techniques en intégrant leurs talents et leurs pratiques culturelles traditionnelles dans la nouvelle économie.*

Un élément central de la vision du monde des Nuu'Chah'Nulth est leur engagement envers la famille, la communauté, le lieu et la tradition. Les exemples de rituels et cérémonies qu'offrent les témoignages de ces femmes nous permettent de mieux comprendre les profondeurs et la richesse d'une culture que la colonisation a presque effacée. Ce que j'ai entendu des rituels entourant la naissance ou les soins aux malades, des rites de passage marquant la puberté, des protocoles historiques, a été transmis par les femmes à la communauté à l'aide d'histoires. Ainsi, les femmes se guérissent les unes les autres pour devenir plus fortes, pour acquérir des formations d'avocates, docteurs, travailleuses sociales ou agentes de développement, entre autres, de façon à supporter leur communauté, tout en lui transmettant les enseignements traditionnels.

Mots clefs: femmes Nuu'Chah'Nulth, potlatch et cérémonies, transmission intergénérationnelle, eau et guérison

Introduction

> "In the 1970s I remember hearing from all over the Nuu'Cha'Nulth coast people saying women were the backbone of the communities, how women have the strong minds, it is women who remember."[2]

First Nations trace their histories through myths and stories telling of people and their relationships with the land. Events are embedded into stories and rituals that symbolise rather than report chronologically, bringing the past into relationship with the present, and making connections through women's storytelling which ultimately transfer knowledge to the younger generations. It is this that ensures the transference of protocol, of ceremonies, and of skills through the generations.

Stories emphasise and confirm the peoples' fundamental regard for, and attachment to, the land and sea, as the Nuu'Chah'Nulth believe everything is connected and inter-related; this axiom, embedded in their stories spanning life from birth to death, focuses on the important moments of life: birth, naming, puberty and death.

> "My grandmother was a great story-teller … All the stories would have to do with from being born and traditional ceremonies. They have us singing and dancing. … My grandmother and all her relations and friends get together and decide on names, those names that take us throughout our lives so now we become women. Story-telling is about life and myths and legends."[3]

My primary research as a doctoral student of oral history[4] focused on a group of Nuu'Chah'Nulth women and illustrated the rich co-existence of the women with each other and their lands. I was honoured to meet thirteen women, spend time with them, talk to and interview them in a series of inspiring and thought-provoking meetings conducted between 2009 and 2010 on their land on western Vancouver Island. Of the thirteen interviews, five were carried out in the privacy of their homes and eight in tribal offices or community halls. This research report on that primary research is a story of First Nation women, an exercise inclusive of and within women's world, which aims to share their voices through their stories and history; their narratives serve to uncover memories. By conducting and investigating in-person interviews and documentary archives, the traditional skills and economic roles, status, and power of these women in their families and communities become evident. My aim is to challenge the contemporary reader regarding common inherited assumptions of First

2 Interview with Anne Robinson, May 2009, Port Alberni: pp.9-10 transcript. Anne mentioned the importance and respectful way of listening, of telling young women the significant things they need to remember when growing up.
3 Interview with Jackie Watts, May 2009: pp.9-10 transcript.
4 For further details about this research project, which resulted in my doctoral thesis, visit https://repository.canterbury.ac.uk/item/8722q/the-hidden-voices-of-nuu-chah-nulth-women.

Nations women in general and Nuu'Chah'Nulth women in particular, and to expose misconceptions and expel illusions about the passivity of women or that Nuu'Chul'Nulth women had / have no voice in their community or the colonial world.

This research project is about Indigenous women's history. It is a very detailed, in-depth study that elucidates a branch of history with the aim of bringing forward the voice of the women of the Nuu'Chah'Nulth. In the wider historical picture, these women are First Nation and affected by colonialism, a feature of Canadian and, inevitably, Western history. In other words, this is a report on a study of a group of First Nation women who represent a fragment of the larger picture of western history, an exercise inclusive of and within women's history through the example of Indigenous women, situated in an historical context that is established through both oral history and the documentary archive. It resides at the intersection of three challenging research areas: women's history, Native Studies, and oral history; all three are encountered within different contexts and explored through the history of this specific group and thereby present a dialogue of past and present.

As a non-native researcher, it is difficult to explain the Nuu'Chah'Nulth worldview in a few words or to clarify how it differs from Euro-American thinking. This Indigenous worldview responds positively to relationships between people and place, history, identity, the natural and spiritual worlds. Such views have not been appreciated by Western commentators over the last two hundred years; Western notions of colonialism, capitalism, cultural supremacy, or greed for land ownership are far divorced from *heshook-ish tsawalk*, the view that 'Everything is One'. Any words I may use which epitomise the Nuu'Chah'Nulth perspective, such as balance, interconnectedness, interrelatedness, unity, or harmony, are based on my limited understanding and perception of the Nuu'Chah'Nulth worldview. I, like many researchers, have found the challenge of translating language and understanding cultural differences to be complex and I apologize for any inaccuracies or inconsistencies.

Qualitative research methodologies underpin this study, allowing for insight into cultural difference and tools for understanding someone else's world. Through analysis of interviews and archival records, it becomes possible to articulate the roles and responsibilities of Nuu'Chah'Nulth women in their communities, their strengths, knowledge, and skills, for those within and outside of the Nuu'Chah'Nulth community. As a researcher, I have been informed by both the historical documents and the subjectivities of the women whose cultural world is shaped by generations of stories and historical events. Storytellers work by personal contact within small communities while historians deal with widespread communities through print, removed, and impersonal. While historians could be considered detached and objective in their reporting and analysis of historical events, a First Nation storyteller is the opposite; however, both work towards realising a sense of identity and understanding.

Asking open-ended questions during the interviews gave Nuu'Chah'Nulth women the opportunity to narrate life experiences, and offer their interpretations of historical events and how these monumental episodes challenged and altered their lives. Through this process of remembering and re-interpretation, they had the time to reflect upon and explore ideas, especially the recent lived-through events of the reconciliation process in regard to residential schooling. Oral history emphasizes the

uniqueness of remembered lives while, at the same time, makes sense of a common past. One of its strengths is its ability to directly access what happened in women's lives and what they did, how they were affected by events, and – unobservable by other means – their attitudes and values.

I am often asked why I researched First Nation women, why this particular group, why the Nuu'Chah'Nulth. I had sent an exploratory email to the Tribal Council asking permission to interview some Nuu'Chah'Nulth women. Eventually a meeting was set up with Dr Michelle Corfield, the vice-president, in Port Alberni. After lots of discussion over a cup of tea she ended the meeting by saying 'you'll do, you can tell our women's story.' These were not her exact words but they portray the sentiments of her thinking. My request was then formally presented to the Nuu'Chah'Nulth Tribal Council by Dr. Corfield. Her arguments, clearly detailing my research, were considered, discussed and agreed. Although not present at the meeting, I have been told there was a strong acknowledgement of the vital role of women in Nuu'Chah'Nulth history, the necessity to balance Nuu'Chah'Nulth history, and to support the women's voices in the telling of their history. I was excited my research could begin.

My methodologies were shaped and challenged by the thirteen women. Taking the time to develop a rapport with them was essential for enabling their thoughts, reminiscences, and story-telling to surface. The interviews allowed the women time to reflect upon how they understood themselves and to tell their life-stories to me, an outsider. This, in turn, improved my own understanding of Nuu' Chah'Nulth women. At the start, I was told that I thought as a western woman, but at the end, I was told I was thinking like a Nuu'Chah'Nulth woman. This was a great honour. Despite not being Nuu'Chah'Nulth, not knowing their language and lacking a lifetime immersion in their culture, I hope I am able to present the vibrant contemporary and traditional ideas and knowledge in the narratives I was given.

The arrival of the *mamalhn'i*, the people who came from over the sea, in the late eighteenth century, affected the lives of Nuu'Chah'Nulth women profoundly. Yet, in spite of the devastating changes to their way of life, the women adapted the environment to their advantage whenever and wherever possible. The medium of oral history has the potential and power to celebrate Nuu'Chah'Nulth women, showing how they are not passive victims of colonialism but are advocates for their culture, traditions and for the women themselves. The strengths of their traditions empowered the women to resist the impositions and pressures from federal government to relinquish culture and language. Despite the traumatic influences of colonialism, the severe reduction of tribal lands, and residential schooling, maintaining traditional gender roles allowed Nuu'Chah'Nulth women to adapt to changing circumstances and adopt new industries and practices whilst upholding their cultural identities as First Nation women: working in the canneries from the 1870s onwards, hop-picking, selling their weaving and handicrafts on the harbour side in Seattle. As relief and welfare payments were insignificant, Nuu'Chah'Nulth women were predominantly involved in a mixture of subsistence, small-scale economic activities, waged labour, traditional work in resource industries, with handicraft production buoyant as women continued to sell their weaving, knitting and basketry goods along the road and dockside in Seattle and Port Alberni. By the end of the nineteenth century Nuu'Chah'Nulth women were travelling to where work was available, becoming an integral part of a waged economy for the

first time and subsequently keeping their culture alive through intermingling with women from other bands.

Continuity and diversity mark the lives of Nuu'Chah'Nulth women, their strengths creating the values and behaviours necessary to restore balance to their families and communities.

> "The strength of who we were has always been there, now we can pick up the tools of today and take our beliefs and values of who we are … and move forward."[5]

Their stories present a rich tapestry of Nuu'Chah'Nulth life, including healing procedures, traditions, and ceremonies associated with birth, naming, coming-of-age, and death. Their culture is based on *lisaak* (respect), humility, *ha-huu-pa* (teachings), story-telling, and responsibility to each other, to the family and to themselves. To get a sense of place of these ceremonies and stories, it is also necessary to return briefly to evidence from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Life has changed dramatically for the women since their meeting with the *mamalhn'i*. However, the essence of women's lives is remarkably similar, since they still honour and respect their culture, language, skills and traditions and ensure the transference of knowledge to younger generations. As one woman said, "Our history was passed on by the ancestors from generation to generation."[6]

The Potlatch –a time for ceremonies[7]

Sa:ya:ch'apis, a wealthy and 'blind old man, unfailingly good-humoured and courteous, steeped in the Aboriginal past and thoroughly innocent of English',[8] was brought up understanding the importance of *?o:simch*, the ritualized cleansing protocol, spiritual preparation, and prayer conducted prior to potlatches, ceremonies, and other social practices.[9] In the 1890s, Sa:ya:ch'apis gave many and varied potlatches, including those to honour his menstruating daughter (her coming-of-age and puberty) and to plant potatoes.

Long-time anthropological authority on the Nuu'Chah'Nulth, Franz Boas recognised that potlatches celebrated important events and rites-of-passage marking the end of a complicated series of preparations. Boas maintained that although the acquisition of wealth was important, the ability to hold a great potlatch was more admirable, and puberty potlatches were the most important family celebration of all, requiring the presence of guests as witnesses, for they were an essential element in maintaining status. It would be easy to conclude from his writings that the privileges associated with

5 Interview with Eileen Haggard, May 2009: p.10 transcript.
6 Interview with Delores Bayne, 29th April 2010: p.2 transcript.
7 The potlatch is a gift-giving, gift-sharing ceremony or festival; the word potlatch comes from the Chinook trade language and derived from the Nuu'Chah'Nulth word 'pachitle,' meaning to give away or gift.
8 Sapir, Edward & Swadesh, Morris (1939) *Nootka Texts: Tales and Ethnological Narratives with Grammatical Notes and Lexicon Materials*, the Linguistic Society of America, University of Yale.
9 The latter section of T*he Nootka Tales* were dictated by Sa:ya:ch'apis in 1914 (texts 33-39); they constitute an autobiographical account of his ceremonial activities and marriage.

ceremonies belonged exclusively to men and boys since Boas tended to obscure the roles of women and girls in ceremonies.

However, that gendered misconception was corrected when Bracken noted in 1997 that not only are women intricately involved in all potlatch preparations, they also hold key roles in the ceremony itself.[10] Girl's puberty rites, in particular, play an important role among these social events, as this is a special time in a young girl's life, a time when she is honoured and recognised as a woman. The potlatches provide a fitting occasion for women's belief in their self-worth and an expression of their importance in the community. The 1884 ban on potlatching, introduced by missionaries and supported by the government of Canada, effectively disabled this 'mutually beneficial arrangement.'[11]

In the mid-1880s, Chief Sa:ya :ch'apis, who had been preparing for his daughter's coming-of-age potlatch for many months, discovered to his dismay many people were declining his invitation to attend, giving as a reason their going to the hop fields: 'you are too late, we are going to the hop fields … we might be too late for the hops.'[12] This refusal was a serious slight for Sa:ya:ch'apis. Fortunately his friend, Chief Shonhin, issued invitations to his own neighbours and the potlatch took place. The conflict between securing wages to feed your family and hereditary gatherings was not an unusual occurrence at this time, so it gradually became common practice to incorporate gatherings into migrant employment opportunities. This turned a potential economic threat into an asset when the law prevented the holding of potlatches and other traditional ceremonies.

The Puget Sound hop-picking industry, a predominantly female activity, was reaching international prominence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Nuu'Chah'Nulth women used canoes to travel to Puget Sound to earn money by picking both hops and *oolalies*, the local berries; many of the canoes also brought clams and mallard ducks to sell, allowing the women to maintain their connections to the places and resources which reflected earlier patterns of existence, a meeting of the past and present. In 1884, at the end of the hop-picking season, women and families continued through the autumn harvesting other crops; they finally returned home with their canoes laden with goods, flour, potatoes and sugar, all bought with their earned income, to sustain the communities through the winter, along with materials to give away at winter potlatches. Hop-field migrations represented a short-term escape valve for the women, away from Canadian colonial curtailments on gatherings and ceremonies. Large numbers of women, children, and elders congregated at strategic points across the border to share news, meet family, and take part in economic activities. As Canada's potlatch ban imposed restrictions on cultural events and practice, the women used every opportunity to gather together; interrupting their journey to the hop-fields presented an ideal time for these meetings. Off-reserve mobility became a crucial part of Nuu'Chah'Nulth life, a necessity for economic survival and social well-being, the women taking with them their practices, their culture, their language and their traditions.

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10 Bracken, C. (1997) *The Potlatch Papers: a colonial; case history,* University of Chicago Press: p.142-143.
11 Cote, C. (2010) *Spirits of our Whaling Ancestors: Revitalising Makah & Nuu'Chah'Nulth traditions,* University of Washington Press, Seattle: p.56.
12 Raibmon, Paige (2005) *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the late nineteenth-century Northwest Coast,* Duke University Press, Durham: p.104; detail of historic occurrence in Sapir & Swadesh *Nootka Texts:* p.149-151.

> "They weren't only from this area; there were fourteen bands here and we'd all go from Nanaimo, from Duncan, from Salish, Saanich; they were all there."[13]

The autumn and winter months were important times for families, for this was the period when potlatches and ceremonies took place. It was a time when people travelled to other reserves for gatherings, weddings, celebrations, and business. These events, integral to Nuu'Chah'Nulth life, continued to be held albeit in secret and on a greatly reduced scale until 1951, when the ban was repealed and public potlatches were once again permitted. Now the younger generations are showing an interest in specific rituals and ceremonies and it is the women who are sharing their knowledge and stories with daughters and granddaughters in the hope that traditions will not be lost. Grandmothers and elders inspired these women; 'They were inspirational … They were ahead of their time considering everything they had gone through in their own childhood.'[14]

The Nootka Tales

Between 1910 and 1923 anthropologist and linguist Edward Sapir collected extensive information from Nuu'Cha'Nulth elders. With the help of a young Nuu'Chah'Nulth man, Alex Thomas (grandson of Sa:ya:ch'apis), the notes were collated, translated almost word-for-word from Nuu'Chah'Nulth to English, and eventually became the Sapir-Thomas Nootka Texts. These short stories are informative, humorous, and full of the rich detail of Nuu'Chah'Nulth political, social and spiritual life; they often refer to women's work, skills, and roles in the community. As an example of historical practices enduring until today, much is made of ceremonial wailing in the story of the Raven and his Wife, tale number eight, mirroring current Nuu'Chah'Nulth rituals. Of great interest in Sapir's tales are references to ritual bathing, cleansing, and prayer to gain long life and freedom from disease, activities happening for four days before ceremonies and still occurring today. The tales link to interviews where the women mention the importance of being cleansed before a ceremony:

> "On the morning of the ceremony my daughter and I went out to bathe and to talk to the creator and to prepare ourselves for the day."[15]

> "[My grandmother] was always going for a bathe. I can remember going for a bathe with her in the water, in the creek, to cleanse herself. She prayed and she taught me all that … so that when I'm really down I'll find somewhere to bathe where I can be quiet."[16]

Water is, and continues to be, an integral part of celebration and women's lives.

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13 Interview with Kathy Robinson, May 2009: p.8 transcript.
14 Interview with Jackie Watts, May 2009: p.22 transcript.
15 Interview with Eileen Haggard, May 2009:p.12 transcript. Eileen described the preparations for a ceremonial feast for her late brother.
16 Interview with Louise, April 2010: p.1 transcript.

Along with Chief Sa:ya:ch'apis, his son Douglas Thomas knew and understood the meanings of the varied face paintings depicting rituals and ceremonies in the Nootka Tales. The designs themselves are simple, clearly identifying variances between the different ceremonies. These amazing face paintings, illustrating the ritual costumes, colours, and symbolic representation of economic life, provide for the researcher evidence of women's role and status in Nuu'Chah'Nulth society. For example, women painted their faces for the butter-clam digging ritual; woman painted their faces for purple sea-urchin harvesting ritual; woman painted their faces for dancing for joy.[17] The designs concern *?o:simch*, those essential rituals undergone before any ceremony or any life activity takes place. In essence, these face paintings epitomise Nuu'Chah'Nulth life practice.

During our interviews, the women told me about a few of these ceremonies that were either personal to their lives, ceremonies with which they were familiar, or rituals they routinely carried out. I witnessed the custom of eating raw sea-urchins to cleanse oneself, for equilibrium and calming; the salmonberry-picking ritual often occurring while walking through the forests collecting berries; preparation of cedar bark peeling for weaving, another ritual that took place while I was interviewing a Nuu'Chah'Nulth elder; the use of small smoking pine branches for calming or preparing oneself for a new venture, another custom witnessed by me and carried out prior to an interview. Face painting is rarely carried out now but the ceremonies continue to be very much in evidence; the sea-urchin custom, in particular, which I personally witnessed and which is common amongst the women who are going through the healing process of cleansing themselves from the effects of residential schooling and other trauma. Waving a smoking pine branches gently around promises a calm atmosphere, to be at peace with yourself and others.

Singing and Dancing and Story-telling

Grandparents and elders kept communities together even during the time when ceremonies and potlatches were banned.

> "[Women were] dynamic in pulling other community members together. Every Wednesday night we would have a potluck … and we sang and danced to celebrate our lives through songs and dances. They were a part of that community that wanted to keep the language and culture and dance going."[18]

For the Nuu'Chah'Nulth, the dances and songs of winter ceremonies sustain all human life and reaffirm the relationship between families and ancestors. Music and songs are owned by individuals or families and, in the past, were used to reinforce rank, status and privilege, distinguishing owners from other Nuu'Chah'Nulth families. A complex system of unwritten rules governs both songs and their owners, rules learned and followed, to honour and respect family and preserve tradition. Songs are transferred to other family members at potlatches hosted by the current song owner.

17 Thomas, Douglas 'Face Paintings from the Sapir Collection' in Hoover, Alan L. (Ed.) *Nuu'Chah'Nulth Voices:* p.172-200.
18 Interview with Jackie Watts, May 2009: p.23 transcript.

Within this traditionally oral society, the strict rituals governing the transfer and perpetuating of songs eliminate potential confusion over responsibilities and rights of song ownership: *p'acil*, the giving of gifts to the guests who witnessed the transfer, puts the final seal on the transaction.[19] Traditional song ownership and the protocol surrounding the agreement about which songs stay in the family to be passed through the generations define a serious undertaking as the songs have been owned for a long time. In response to a question about the respect due ownership of family songs and dances, a Nuu'Chah'Nulth woman, proud of her lineage, said:

> "…my great-grandmother was a really powerful woman; she was a leader; she taught us how to sing, to chant. Some of the songs she composed are used for our entertainment. She owned all kinds of chants and songs from the wolf society, thunderbird chants and hummingbird chants, and we still use them today."[20]

> "Her grandmother had told her, 'you represent this tribe, the tribe you dance for, or your family, you can dance for them'; my grandmother was the one who had all the knowledge and the history … she passed down the history, our lineage, our genealogy."[21]

Generations of knowledge are represented in these dances, songs and chants and the women recognise their responsibility in continuing the tradition of transferring knowledge to the younger generations, an undertaking the women are more than willing to maintain.

There are distinct songs for the different stages of life, and there are strict protocols to follow for each of these songs. When a daughter comes of age, a new song is created for that specific purpose; she now owns that song, it is her property, and you would need to ask permission from her, as the owner, to use that song. A new song was created from a dream experienced by a Nuu'Chah'Nulth mother prior to her daughter's coming-of age ceremony. The new song involved people singing, bringing the family closer together, and showing her daughter the right way to go, her journey in life.[22] Songs have a purpose: they support you, helping you to move forward in a positive way, giving strength. Songs are not just for entertainment but for a reason and the words spoken here endorse that statement.

> "Songs and dances are pretty but they have a purpose and they are supposed to do something; dances are graceful, they have a purpose, they are supposed to help you in life. It is all about helping you move forward in your life in a good way. They are not just for show and entertainment they have a purpose about why you do it, when you do it, how you do it."[23]

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19 Goodman, L.J. & Swan, H. *Singing the Songs of my Ancestors:* pp41-42; According to Helma Swan, the Makah word *p'a* means 'to throw', and *p'acil* means to throw gifts. The Makah/Nuu'Chah'Nulth speak of this activity as the 'giving of gifts' at a potlatch.
20 Interview with Genevieve, May 2010: p.18 transcript.
21 Ibid.,: pp5-6 transcript.
22 Interview with Eileen Haggard, May 2009: pp.15-17 transcript.
23 Interview with Anne Robinson, May 2009: p.7 transcript.

Songs and stories are essentially personal but change and evolve in the retelling, becoming a recurring activity carefully interwoven into Nuu'Chah'Nulth ritual and ceremony.

Birthing ceremonies and celebrations

Everyone in a Nuu'Chuh'Nulth community actively participates in the rearing and teaching of a child, and ceremonies are an important part of this process, as gatherings offer a wonderful opportunity for *ha-huu-pa* (teachings). Ceremonies occur from pre-birth to death. As women are the first teachers of newborns, female elders come forward and sing, once the pregnancy has been confirmed, telling stories about the birth of a child.[24] Before the birth there is the first naming ceremony when the unborn child is given a name. It is the role of grandmothers and elders to talk and talk to the unborn child so, when the baby is born, the child has already learned to listen; they already have knowledge, as it is said babies learn from the beginning.

For the Nuu'Chah'Nulth, birth is a sacred event in the circle of life; it is a powerful celebration of life that strengthens the people.[25] The moment I met one particular Nuu'Cha'Nulth elder, even before I had explained the purpose of the interview, she began telling me about women's strength when they gave birth, and about the whole birthing process. During the latter stages of pregnancy, she explained, the young mother was told what was going to happen. It was stressed that 'she mustn't tell anyone when the labour pains start, she mustn't talk about it at all. If you talk about things you'll have a hard labour.'[26] It was a time when women stayed at home, prepared everything, and gave birth on their own.

When the baby was born and was heard to cry, then the waiting women intervened to support the young mother by giving her herbal drinks which revitalised and strengthened her, by allowing her time to rest, to get to know her new baby, to wash and cleanse herself. The women did this by taking on everything else for the new mother: cleaning the room, washing clothes, preparing food and drinks, everything except looking after the needs of the baby.[27] A slightly different story was proffered during another interview, when it was suggested women supported the young woman through the birthing process itself. There is the possibility that that story may have referred to more recent times or even to a different band. However, the mother's responsibilities are similar in both versions, as described here:

> "[Women] worked right up until they were able to give birth. It was only women who were part of the birthing and were there to deliver the baby, all the women. You weren't allowed to scream because you didn't want your baby brought into the world screaming or hearing

24 Interview with Eileen Haggard, May 2009: p12 transcript.
25 Malloch, Lesley 'Indian Medicine, Indian Health', p.470 in Monture, P. & McGuire, P. *First Voices* p.466-479
26 Interview with Kathy Robinson, May 2009: p1 transcript
27 Ibid.; I believe Kathy was talking about the early part of the twentieth century as she was unsure of the date when women started attending hospital to give birth.

> screaming or being frightened so the woman was given a stick to bite down on to stop her from screaming."[28]

Once the child is born, disposing of the afterbirth was another sacred part of the birthing process. This particular celebration is the subject of a cultural revival. As babies were, historically, born at home, some experienced midwives and women from the local community ensured a short ceremony was carried out immediately after the birth. One woman's grandmother, who was very traditional, had taught her granddaughter how to 'work the afterbirth' immediately after her own mother had given birth to her younger brothers and sisters. 'Working the afterbirth', not just disposing of it, involved giving a value to the afterbirth, moving its influence forward by performing a 'small ceremony around the afterbirth.'[29] Today, when requested, a particularly skilful and knowledgeable Nuu'Chah'Nulth woman conducts these simple but meaningful and powerful afterbirth ceremonies for young mothers and their newborn babies. She feels very honoured to do so as the afterbirth has to be disposed of. Before the afterbirth is buried, blood is dropped onto the young mother's face to 'take away all the dark marks you get from being pregnant.'[30] The word is spreading. The skills have not been lost, the knowledge is still evident, traditional birth practices are once again being considered, and it is believed the revival of these practices is an inherent part of the decolonisation process.[31]

This delightful story was provided:

> "Not that long ago my daughter came to me and says "I've had your first grandson and I want you to work the afterbirth." I said I would be honoured. And the only thing I told her was 'my grandmother always put a few cents in with the afterbirth or whatever you want the child to be.' My daughter put a little hockey stick in with my grandson's afterbirth."[32]

There is a similar ceremony for the moment when the umbilical cord falls off, where the cord is removed and put into a container with different objects symbolising a family's expectations and hopes for the child later in life.[33] A Nuu'Chah'Nulth woman, who now has a law degree, had a pen included as her relatives wanted her to grow up to be very smart and academic and be very successful in her world.[34] The timing of the ceremony was reaffirmed when I was told that although the ceremony was usually carried out a few days after the birth, it was an event that could happen any time during the first year of life and one that occurred throughout the Nuu'Chah'Nulth nation.

28 Interview with Jackie Watts, May 2009: p19 transcript
29 Interview with Louise, April 2010: p1 transcript
30 Interview with Kathy Robinson, May 2009: p.2 transcript
31 Research on Dakota practices, American Indian Studies Department, University of Minnesota: research focuses on traditional midwifery, birth practices and knowledge of the Dakota/Lakota/Nakota Nation and their revival of these practices: accessed from H.AMINDIAN@H-NET.MSU.EDU, 25th February 2012.
32 Ibid, p5-6 transcript.
33 Interview with Genevieve, May 2010: p23 transcript.
34 Interview with Jackie Watts, May 2009: p15 transcript

> "It was believed that if you buried the belly-button with articles you wanted the child to be, to grow up to be good at sports or to be a singer, you would take whatever you wanted for that life and bury it in the yard with the belly-button."[35]

The reasons for these actions are obvious, as gently encouraging success is considered to be an optimistic and positive start to life.

With training and qualifications, these forward-looking Nuu'Chah'Nulth women can be understood as agents of change by balancing traditional methods and time-honoured ideas with current thinking. According to some of the women I interviewed, gaps still exist in traditional knowledge and in the passing of this knowledge. However, songs and ceremonies, beliefs and stories around birthing and caring for young children continue to be told and learned whenever there are gatherings.
In the past it was a common occurrence for Nuu'Chah'Nulth women to be midwives. This was just one of the many community health management roles they were involved in, together with medicine women, traditional doctors, women having a responsibility for disease prevention and health promotion in their communities.[36] Although the particular skills of midwifery had largely disappeared in the Nuu'Chah'Nulth communities by the beginning of the twentieth century, there is family evidence showing how midwifery skills have been transferred down through the generations.

> "Her mother was a midwife and I think there were three generations of midwives. … There were a couple of other midwives but it stopped with my grandmother's age because they didn't want to pass on the trauma and working with medical issues with families, so it stopped with my grandmother."[37]

These sentiments were reaffirmed by another woman when talking about her grandmother and great-grandmother, women who had the required skills and knowledge to be midwives, women who harvested medicines and plants from the forest for use in childbirth.

> "She was a midwife although that is not what it would have been called in our dialect but she was a very knowledgeable person in birthing, floating and assisting throughout the community."[38]

In her paper, Malloch asserts that midwives had important roles in the Nuu'Chah'Nulth community. These women were caretakers of the birth process, of new life, and this involved nutrition, herbs, gynaecology, pre-natal care, and natural childbirth.[39] Although some practices have returned, such as

35 Ibid, p. 16 transcript
36 Anderson, Kim 'Notokwe Opikiheet – 'Old Lady Raised': Aboriginal Women's Reflections on Ethics and Methodologies in Health' in Monture, P. & McGuire, P. *First Voices* p.507-519
37 Interview with Jackie Watts, May 2009: p.1 transcript. It is believed the issues relate to increased instances of tuberculosis and other imported diseases are difficult to manage with natural remedies.
38 Interview with Eileen Haggard, May 2009: p6 transcript.
39 Malloch, Lesley 'Indian Medicine, Indian Health' p.470 in Monture, P. & McQuire, P.; Dr Marlene Atleo draws on Nuu'Chah'Nulth origin stories to address the complexities and ambiguities of Aboriginal health beliefs, inclusive healthcare and nursing practice in Nursing Science Quarterly: *Nursing Practice with Aboriginal Communities: Expanding Worldviews*

the afterbirth ceremony, it would not be practical to completely embrace traditional ways, a sentiment endorsed by the women. However, by combining traditional practices and western medical knowledge, it is very feasible to provide an extremely supportive maternal and infant care system at home and in the community by women who are themselves living in these communities and who are also trained healthcare workers. Nuu'Chah'Nulth women have the skills and knowledge needed for the well-being of their families and communities, skills central to Nuu'Chah'Nulth life.

The women also speak of the intergenerational transfer of this knowledge between women. One particular comment quietly asserts this truth:

> "When my babies were really small babies, my elder sister said mum told them to wrap the babies up and put them outside. If you do that for at least five minutes a day they won't get sick; it helps to build up their immune system. I did that and I find that my children rarely get your common flu symptoms. It was something passed on that was really important and useful to do."[40]

Marking the First Year

Completing the first year of a child's life marks an important celebration for Nuu'Chah'Nulth children, for reaching one year old was considered to be a milestone in life. In the past, if a child survived their first year, it was believed they had the strength to grow and live. Although this is not such a crucial factor today, the end of the first year is still worthy of a celebration, a significant time in a child's life. It was the time a child received her formal name within a family gathering. It is the grandmothers and elders that decide the names. When the child is a year old, It is also the time of a traditional ceremony for cutting the hair. The whole family is invited to share a feast; it is the time when all the family songs and lullabies are sung.

> 'My grandmother and all her relations and friends would get together and decide on the names. Those names would take us throughout our lives so now we could become women as being held up means becoming a women with the utmost respect as you are the one who will bring life. There was lots of singing and dancing and story-telling.'[41]

Puberty and the Coming-of-Age Ceremony

Ensuring sustenance for the community and care for the young and old meant girls and women took on increasing responsibilities with age, historically and in the present time. The narratives express what girls encounter when they enter womanhood or the 'woman's cycle,' following puberty. When

July 2005, 19: 259-263 by Othmar F. Arnold & Anna Bruce, http://nsq.sagepub.com/content/18/3/259.full.pdf+html
40 Interview with Eileen Haggard, May 2009: p.14 transcript.
41 Interview with Jackie Watts, May 2009: p.10 transcript.

daughters come of age, a large and significant potlatch is held involving the whole family. It is the time the girls receive their 'young ladies name.'

> "If you had a coming-of-age for a girl it would be right away as she got her monthly period or it would wait until the spring when everything was new and you celebrate life, everything has to be new for her. In the spring when everything is new you are able to bring in new life as you now have the ability to bear children."[42]

At puberty, there is a distinct separation of genders and girls spend more time with the women of the community. The importance of the puberty ceremony was stressed time and again, as it is the time when girls are told they hold the physical and spiritual responsibility for maintaining the well-being, the life-force, the strength of the community through their ability to give birth. In one interview, a time in the early 1990s is remembered when a family was preparing a puberty ceremony for their two daughters. It was strongly emphasised it was the women who dealt with the detail of the ceremony, all the preparations, and the event itself.

> "One day some of the older ladies were talking about how it is the women who have the strong minds, that it is the women who remember, which is why it's important for young ladies when they become young women, you tell them good things because that is what they'll remember when they grow up, the things they need to know for their children and grandchildren; because that was always the teaching you would get. … As I got older I began to see more of the complexities of all the simple little phrases they would use as we were growing up, wheels within wheels … This is where it all began with humility and knowing who you are in your family and in the community; this is very important when you're growing up.[43]

People talked about the importance of *lisaak* - respect for women - explaining a girl's links to her family, who her mother is, who her grandparents are, especially her grandmothers: they 'bring her forward and say they would like her to be respected.'[44] At the heart of the Nuu'Chah'Nulth community is the expectation women are treated with respect and honour, a certainty repeatedly stressed. The respect for older women is recognised in ceremonies, so at coming-of-age ceremonies, young girls listen to their grandmothers asking the people gathered there to respect the girls throughout their lives.[45]

> "I think the strongest core value that has probably persisted is respect for women. Our sons and grandsons feel it very strongly. They are always very respectful to the women in our family. … The biggest sense I get and understand is that they [the men] have a responsibility to recognise that women are to be respected."[46]

42 Interview with Jackie Watts, May 2009: p.20 transcript.
43 Interview with Anne Robinson, April 2009: pp9-10 of transcript.
44 Interview with Eileen Haggard, May 4 2009: p.12 of transcript; many of the women were raised by their grandmothers.
45 Ibid., p.12 of transcript
46 Interview with Ina and Charlotte, 4 May 2009: p.18 and p.22 of transcript; see also interview with Eileen.

However, it is not just respect for women that is important; it was quietly asserted women should also respect themselves:

> "I think my grandmother always said you have to respect yourself no matter where you go or whatever you do. So act respectively, be respectable, and respectful."[47]

Respect for women is central to Nuu'Chah'Nulth beliefs. Men listen to and respect women's ideas; one interviewer said that Nuu'Chah'Nulth 'men still ask women and the women still tell them what should be done, what needed to be done.' Men do not make decisions until they speak to the women but 'it had to be done in private, it was always in private, and then the decision was taken back to the meeting.' Although it appears this comment relates to the past, I believe it also happens in the present, as this Elder was speaking about respect for and listening to women's ideas, saying: 'they listened to the women, and sometimes they would ask the women what they should do,' which reflects the protocols of two hundred years earlier when Captain Cook negotiated trade deals with the Nuu'Chah'Nulth people involving both men and women.[48]

The Importance of Water within Ceremonies

In the aboriginal worldview, the energies of water are closely linked with women because when children are born, water precedes the child; water is the first environment known to a child. In a context where, traditionally, Nuu'Chah'Nulth women have a special relationship to and respect for water, an archetypal symbol of fruition and childbirth, the significant role of water within ceremonies and Nuu'Chah'Nulth women's lives needs to be acknowledged. For these women, water offers life-giving forces accompanied by duties and responsibilities and it must be an integral part of a woman's life to have any significant meaning.[49] Towards this end, mothers and daughters spend time together in the forest, bathing and preparing for their important roles in social events and ceremonies, and cleansing in the sea for personal health. The following two references to cleansing rituals show this importance, instances that occurred over one hundred years apart, today and in the nineteenth century. In this first, an elder who was about eighty years old spoke of earlier times:

> "… That's where we stayed for a while to cleanse and cleanse and cleanse. I watched every woman take care of their bodies, drink what they had to to keep their insides clear. They made a brew of stinging nettles and drank that so they could clear their insides."[50]

47 Interview with Jackie Watts, 4 May 2009: p.23 of transcript.
48 Interview with Kathy Robinson, May 2009: p.5 of transcript. There were occasional interruptions as family members and her carer popped in to check who I was and what we were talking about, although no-one interrupted what was actually said. She was very eloquent about the women's oral tradition, saying if someone came for advice it was always the women that gave the advice and the men only added information if necessary.
49 Monture, P.A. & McGuire, P.D. *First Voices*: p.136.
50 Interview with Kathy Robinson, May 2009: p.4 transcript.

In recounting this story this elder was talking about her grandmother, who lived in the nineteenth century. The ritual of cleansing in the twenty-first century, *?o:simch*, is clarified by another in this second example: 'for all our ceremonies we did a cleansing', a custom that must not be rushed. On the morning of a memorial, mothers and daughters 'go out to bathe, talk to the creator, and to prepare themselves to come forward.'[51] Memorials can last two days with many people needing to be fed and watered during that time and daughters have an important role in food preparation, keeping the food flowing throughout the ceremony, supporting their mothers, grandmothers, and female elders, and standing up with them. This is known as 'an open-door policy'.[52]

In the mid-nineteenth century (1868), Gilbert Sproat records his observations of Nuu'Chah'Nulth women and water in his book *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*. He remarks upon the frequency with which women wash themselves in fresh water, especially at the end of a working day, changing their clothes, and arranging their hair. He makes numerous references to water, bathing, and cleanliness:

> "Till beyond middle age many … [women] bathe every day in the sea, and in the winter they rub their bodies with oil after coming out of the water. … Mothers roll their young children in the snow to keep them hardy. … They wash often, the fresh air circulates around their bodies …"[53]

The Formalities of Death

Nowadays, many Nuu'Chah'Nulth women are trained health and community workers or drug councillors, able to combine traditional knowledge with new qualifications. They are a powerful group of women with the ability to tend to the needs and responsibilities of their families and communities, with an intensity of commitment which extends into all parts of life and death. They deal with the end as well as the beginnings of life with strength and tenacity.

Historically, on the death of a person, it was the women who attended the body and prepared it for burial. Once it was certain life had ended, the women cleansed the body and 'put them back into a foetal position. They get a big cedar mat and cover' the body.[54] In 1868, Gilbert Sproat described the preparation of the dead for burial as the women placed the body 'on a couch in a sitting position.'[55] Again, displaying an unexpected sensitivity towards women, Sproat realised women's hair is cut as a sign of grief:

51 Interview with Eileen Haggard, May 2009: p.12 transcript.
52 Ibid.
53 Sproat, G.M. (1868) *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, Smith, Elder & Co., London: Chapter IV Physical Appearance: pp24-26.
54 Interview with Delores Bayne, April 2010: p.13 transcript.
55 Sproat, G.M. (1868) *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* Smith, Elder & Co., London with descriptions of preparing the dead for burial, p.257. Gilbert Sproat was an Indian Agent for the Nuu'Chah'Nulth region.

> "They cut the hair as a mark of respect for the dead. … The women display their grief openly. In their houses the women often talk about friends who have died; how they were respected; what great things they did."[56]

Similar observations were expressed in 2009, one hundred and fifty years later:

> "… All the women would come together and they would grieve and they would cut their hair as a sign of mourning because their hair represented a life, a lifeline, like a lifetime of enjoyment with that family member; … all of them who were related would cut their hair."[57]

The men take over the burial process by 'putting them back into the mother earth from where they came; it's like a womb, going back.'[58] Both women and men cleanse themselves afterwards 'as the last part of the ritual is to cleanse, to get the blessing and a sense of cleansing.'[59] These rituals give a sense of completing the life cycle. In historical times, burial of the dead was dealt with differently; some were buried in caves or on arches but the process was always handled with sensitivity.

> "They weren't buried in the ground until the settlers came. All the women would come together and they would grieve, they would cut their hair as a sign of mourning because their hair represented a life, a life … a lifetime of enjoyment with that family member, as a sign of loss. The women would scream and wail and cry for two or three days."[60]

Conclusion

As grandparents decline, the teachings and rituals of ancestors are now beginning to be taken over by younger family members, along with modern responsibilities and practices. Women's confidence in following traditional ways in the twenty-first century, such as women-centred approaches to pregnancy and childbirth supported and managed by the women in the community and grounded in the belief of women's power to give life, are quietly demonstrated in the communities today. These traditional ways were discussed by a number of women interviewed and linked to the teachings they had experienced from their elders when growing up, saying 'the grandmothers' teaching was very good.'[61]

These comments are significant, since they demonstrate that women's historical knowledge and roles are continuing into the present day. They acknowledge the transmission of skills and traditional practices, for instance, when managing girls' transition into adulthood through coming-of-age ceremonies, when dealing with afterbirth, when conducting the sea-urchin ceremony for health and

56 Ibid., p.262 in Chapter XXV, Usages in Burial.
57 Interview with Jackie Watts, May 2009: p.15 transcript.
58 Interview with Delores Bayne, April 2010: p.13 transcript.
59 Ibid.
60 Interview with Jackie Watts, May 2009: p.15 transcript.
61 Interview with Kathy Robinson, May 2009: p.11 transcript.

vitality, and when teaching and learning the Nuu'Chah'Nulth language. It is the authority of the women themselves which shapes and takes responsibility for the growing child and, in particular, which raises girls - as incoming members of the band - with the skills necessary to respect their elders, each other, and themselves. These skills have endured despite residential schooling. The women are comfortable with change, secure in the knowledge they can adapt to meet changing needs (something they have always done), as well as making effective use of those changes. Moreover, the women's stories establish future goals and endeavours for the next generation of Nuu'Chah'Nulth women. Through education and training, women's lives will continue to be transformed, and women will continue to encourage the dissemination of new and old ideas to families, groups, and intergenerational organisations. This demonstrates a remarkably high level of resilience among Nuu'Chah'Nulth women.

By applying their knowledge about the continued importance of life-stages and associated ceremonies in the communities today (and in the future), and ensuring education is positively contributing to the health and well-being of individual women, families and communities, the women believe the circle will re-connect. This is not a simple process or even a short one; I was told it will take seven generations to unite families and communities, to give them the skills, knowledge and strengths needed to evolve and progress. Nuu'Chah'Nulth women are firm in their conviction of the value of transmitting values, traditions and skills to daughters, granddaughters, and nieces, and to all female members of their extended families. They know that this ensures the continuity of knowledge, traditions, language, culture, and ceremony in an inter-generational exchange of ideas, knowledge and skills.

> "You see the power and strength within our women, today it's our younger women."[62]

Dr. Jacky Moore
September 2021

Biography

Dr. Jacky Moore is an independent researcher. These stories were part of her PhD Thesis for Canterbury Christ Church University, Kent, UK.

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Volume 02, Issue 2 Autumn 2021 / Winter 2022 Pages 34 - 42

Matrix: A Journal for Matricultural Studies

https://www.networkonculture.ca/activities/matrix

An Introduction to Frederica de Laguna's "Matrilineal Kin Groups in Northwestern North America," in *Proceedings: Northern Athapaskan Conference, 1971*, Vol. 1, ed. Annette McFayden Clark, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper 27 (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, 1975), 17-145.

MARIE-FRANÇOISE GUÉDON, PhD

Reprinting the Frederica de Laguna's study of the American Northwestern matrilineal clan systems is an important duty. The northern American Pacific coast is host to several distinct though compatible matrilineal lineage and kinship systems that lend support to the rich and complex matricultural systems of the Tsimshian-, Haida-, and Tlingit-speaking peoples on the coast (and a few neighbouring coastal communities) and of the largest part of the Athapaskan-speaking people inland from the Alaskan interior to northwestern Canada down through British Columbia to the Southwest in the United States. These systems are changing from generation to generation and Indigenous people, who inherited these cultures and are involved in working for their continuity, need easy access to solid historical references. The best source remains Frederica de Laguna's study, (re)published here for the first time since 1975. It is a systematic review of all the information that was available at the time, which she had gathered over a period of fifty years (from 1921 to 1971) in the field herself or from her colleagues. The information is presented tribe by tribe, together with an analysis of descent groups, names, crests, inherited prerogatives and traditions, in relation to geographical and linguistic neighbourhoods and historical or ethno-historical data. It is a long, incomplete, and technical document that uses older orthographies from the period in which the information was gathered, but such as it is, it retains its usefulness and relevance to both local Indigenous communities and to anyone interested in matricultures.

One must bear in mind that this article was written for ethnologists, hence its technical character, and that it was first presented in 1971, that is, fifty years ago. We chose not to modify the text and this

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had two consequences. First, it meant keeping a phonetic alphabet no longer in use today. During these last fifty years, the names attributed to Indigenous societies, nations, or communities have changed as Indigenous peoples reclaim their own names and ways of designating themselves. For ease of identification, we have provided a map at the end of this introduction using the original names (Appendix 1) and a table providing original and current names of these communities (Appendix 2). Secondly, as was customary at the time of the original publication, the name designating the linguistic family identified by linguists as *Athapaskan* (or Athapascan or Athabascan) has been retained to designate the speakers themselves, rather than the Indigenous *Dene* (or Dine, Dineh, T'ené, or T'ena).

Furthermore, some of the most essential technical terms used to describe kinship systems have evolved since the 1960s and 1970s to reflect new understandings. Frederica de Laguna and her colleagues did not necessarily use Indigenous terms to designate the various kinds of kin groups they encountered in the field, because using an Indigenous term was practicable only as long as the researcher remained within a single language group. Among the technical terms current in mid-20th century anthropology, the term *sib* was often used to signify what would now be called a *matrilineal clan*. Frederica de Laguna used sib throughout her study to speak about any unilineal descent group whose members trace their ascendance through the female line to a single (mythical or symbolic) ancestor. This choice allowed her to maintain a basis for comparison throughout her survey. Today, anthropologists and most Indigenous peoples would use the term *clan*, whether descendants are identified through the male line or through the female line. When the single ancestor is either unknown or mythical, the term clan takes precedence today; when the ancestor's name is known and kin ties between the ancestor and her or his descendants can be identified, the term *lineage* is preferred. Clans are often subdivided into lineages; groups of clans are called *phratries*. When a society is divided in two clans or two phratries, that is, when every member of the society must belong to one or to the other side, the community is said to be organized in *moieties* (from the French term *moitié* that means "half").

Throughout the area under study, lineages, clans, phratries and especially moieties are exogamous; this means that their members must marry outside of their descent group, which insures a distinction between the father's side and the mother's side of the family. Children belong to one descent group (with all the rights and duties corresponding to this identity) and at the same time claim kin connections with the opposite side (in-laws, or father's side), which gives them access to another set of resources and assistance. As members of a kin group were forbidden to marry each other, they had to marry someone on the same side as their father. This gave rise to a marriage rule found among all the matrilineal societies of this area: the preferred choice for a spouse is the child of one's father's sister (that is, a cousin – or anyone of that generation – who belongs to the paternal clan) or the child of one's mother's brother (a cousin or any one of that generation who belongs to a maternal uncle's wife's kin group, which would also be the same as one's paternal clan). Anthropologists use the term *cross-cousin marriage* for this pattern and in local terms, it is often expressed by the formula: "You marry back into your father's side." In practice, this does not mean that one has to marry one's own

biological cross-cousin, but rather that all the members of one's father's clan are considered potential spouses.

Parallel cousins (the anthropological term), on the other hand, are the children of one's mother's sister and one's father's brother (who would have a mother from your mother's clan); they are your same clan, and considered and treated as siblings. The daughters of your mother's sisters, the daughters of the daughter of your mother's mother's sister – all the female members of your generation within the clan or within the moiety system – will be called 'real sisters.' The term *sister* does not only mean 'a daughter of my mother' in the anglophone sense of the term; it means 'a woman of my generation and my clan'. A marital union with one of them would be considered incestuous.

Such a system resulted in a vast and flexible network of exchange of goods, services, and knowledge that could extend over many different tribes. This network came into public view during the feasts called potlatches, or feasts for the dead, when one "side" feasted the other, the dead were honoured, social news was announced, crests, names, and inherited ceremonial privileges were displayed, and goods were exchanged between one side and the opposite side.

When exogamous rules weaken in a moiety or phratry system, the entire ceremonial and economic exchange system may collapse. Unfortunately, colonial Christian churches did not approve of cross-cousin marriages nor of inheritance through the mother's line, and nor did they understand the system of matrilines and moieties. They, together with both Canadian and American administrators, favoured a patriarchal social organization which they enforced at all levels of governance.

In 1971, de Laguna noted that in half the communities she had surveyed, the clan and moiety system was no longer observed by younger people, who had typically travelled and preferred Euro-American individualist marriage rules. Nevertheless, although coastal communities had struggled to create arrangements which integrated breaches in the kinship system, the links between clans, crests and territorial rights survived. Meanwhile, inland Athapaskan communities, who were without any support for their matrilineal groups, often lost track of the old system; on their websites today, while some tribes, thanks to dedicated cultural heritage protection actions, list matrilineality as a feature of their cultural identity, most do not.

Frederica de Laguna documented kinship systems, clan distributions, and the organisation of moieties because they were important to the people for whom she worked. While local terminologies were being replaced by Anglophone terms, thereby reinforcing the influence of the Anglophone bilateral kinship system (with no attention paid to any descent system unless patrilineal), and while the increasingly influential new marriage rules no longer sustained matrilineal ideals, she knew that the values expressed by the ancient norms would survive as long as they were not forgotten. Before she died, she left to her scholarly heirs the task to make her work more widely available to her most important readers.

But the theoretical front does matter also. Many preconceived notions still circulate about matrilineal kin groups, especially in administrative and governmental circles. These have to be explicitly addressed. Scholars are not innocent bystanders in this quest for information, and Frederica de Laguna meant for her research to solve an old riddle about the origins of the Athapaskan matrilineal system and the specificity of the Northwest coast clans, noble names, and crest systems. She set out to demonstrate that matrilineal descent groups did not come to the Athapaskan-speaking people through the influence of the coastal groups, as was believed by most researchers at the time; instead, matrilineality was present among the Athapaskan speakers all along. This reset old ideas about matrilineal societies and the relevance of matrilineality for societies of hunter-gatherers. The theoretical context revolved around at least three points:

1. Diffusion or local development

This opposition was part of the early anthropological discourse about the origins of matrilineality among the Athapaskan peoples. It was deemed obvious that the close proximity of and regular encounters between the flamboyant coastal and riparian cultures of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian communities and the hunting / fishing / gathering way of life of the semi-nomadic Athapaskan speakers must have resulted in a one-way flow of ideas and customs (from coast to interior). The better-known coastal cultures, with their formal and visual displays of crests identifying noble houses, lineages, clans, and phratries or moieties and with their hierarchical system of names or titles linked to territorial rights and ceremonial privileges, all inherited within matrilines, were thought to foster the development of prolific artistic traditions and aesthetic theories which permeated the entire social and ceremonial and religious life. Meanwhile, Athapaskan-speaking peoples were deemed by many scholars to be the impoverished survivors of cultural degenerescence, who were therefore ready to assimilate the norms of their ‘superior’ neighbours. The almost total absence of visual art in their ceremonial life did not help their reputation among the Euro-American scholars; one cannot collect rich poetry or appreciate beautiful songs unless one speaks the local language, which most scholars did not.

2- Matrilineal descent groups

From the 1930s until the mid- to late-1960s, two schools of thought polarized not only scholarly views on kinship systems, but the ensuing social policies for dealing with Indigenous peoples. George Peter Murdock (Murdock 1949), his colleagues, and their students favoured a social and biological approach to kinship systems, with the environment considered a primary factor in their evolution. Edward Sapir, his colleagues, and their students preferred a cultural approach as taught by Franz Boas and cultural anthropology, taking kinship as an expression of worldviews, values, and systems of meaning.

For Murdock and his colleagues, matrilineal societies could arise only in a stable (settled) environment with women working in economically productive domains, such as gardening or farming, or conceivably in a rich fishing economy which depended upon the work of women to prepare and preserve the fish. Hunter-gatherers in the subarctic woods could not be conceived of as having become matrilineal because the survival of the communities depended on teams of men bound

together by living together and led by the ablest and strongest male hunter. Furthermore, the long distance between the necessarily small and temporary settlements or bands would preclude frequent encounters - and bands had to be endogamous. From the point of view of this school of thought, the social organisation of northern Athapaskan-speakers was an anomaly, a theoretical impossibility. The strong matricultures of the northern Algonkian-speaking peoples in the northern and central Canadian subarctic, also hunters, would have created an equally distressing anomaly, but not enough was known about them at the time, and they were easily dismissed. According to this perspective, the Northern Athapaskans must have either borrowed their clans and moieties from their coastal neighbors or acquired them in a distant past, possibly in Asia, before they became inland hunters of northern North America -- two hypotheses equally difficult to sustain.

Meanwhile the debate intensified for ethnologists working on the Pacific Coast. Some discussed an Asian origin (Olson: 1933; Birket-Smith: 1938; Murdock: 1955), while others favoured a local development (Inglis: 1970; Steward: 1955). Diffusion from Asian Pacific cultures to the American Coast would not fit with an absence of matrilines on the Asian coast of the Pacific (although now the presence of matrilineal cultures in central Eastern Asia is known), but diffusion from the coast toward the interior was accepted by most researchers. Yet some Athapaskanists remained unconvinced and Catherine McClellan, among a few others, stood firm in defending the thesis of an ancient, separate origin for both the coastal and the inland matrilineal systems (McClellan: 1953, 1964).

3- New data

During the past century, steady field research has been bringing actual data to the debate; ethnographers (many of whom are women) have made known more widely the rich cultural heritage of the semi-nomadic people of the subarctic, battered as they may be by the colonization process. Linguists have confirmed that the large linguistic family of the Na-déne - originally envisioned by Edward Sapir in the 1960s and combining the northern coastal peoples with the Athapaskan - is in fact not a linguistic family but merely a label bringing together unrelated language isolates. There was one possible exception: the Northern Athapaskan-speaking people (remote relatives of the Eyak) could have been linguistically related with the Tlingit, but further research has shown that their language is actually closely related to Southern Athapaskan-speakers, such as the Navajo and Apache peoples. The Tsimshian and Haida languages are now known to be language isolates and not related to any neighbours.

When Frederica de Laguna demonstrated the independent accession of the Athapaskan people to matrilineal kinship systems, she thereby confirmed that hunters and nomadic or semi-nomadic societies could develop their own matrilines and matrilineal kinship systems. She also suggested that, far from having been borrowed from the coastal groups, many crests were probably brought to the coast by migrating inlanders, especially in the complex social milieu among the Tsimshian and Athapaskan connections. The diversity of natural environments in which Athapaskan people lived did not seem to affect their matrilineality and did not have to be taken into consideration.

In 1974, a few years after the Athapaskan conference in Ottawa, Isidore Dyen and David Aberle published the results of their own comparative research on the Southern and Northern Athapaskan kinship systems, focusing on kinship terminology. This research was undertaken to identify, if possible, the elements of a proto-Athapaskan kinship system which might be considered the ancestral model of contemporary Athapaskan kin relationship. It confirmed Frederica de Laguna's conclusions by demonstrating the antiquity of the proto-Athapaskan kinship framework and its general bias toward matrilineality, even among northeastern Athapaskan people. Among these last, the researchers did not find matrilines, but in 1974, several communities in question continued to practice cross-cousin marriage – a strong marker of matrilineality.

Frederica de Laguna also vindicated the emphasis Edward Sapir had placed on the cultural context to understand kinship systems. She reinforced this theoretical shift to cultural context and away from environmental determinism by suggesting, in her conclusions, the idea that the names and crests of clans and moieties, on the coast as well as inland, might be directly linked to what we call shamanic practices. The most recent ethnographic inquiries indicate that, indeed, human kinship systems should not be separated from the human connections with the non-human world. Given the extensive differences between the various shamanic traditions among the northwestern North American Indigenous cultures, the quasi-shamanic nature of crests and other inherited privileges should lead to new perspectives on the roles of kin-groups in the matricultures of this region.

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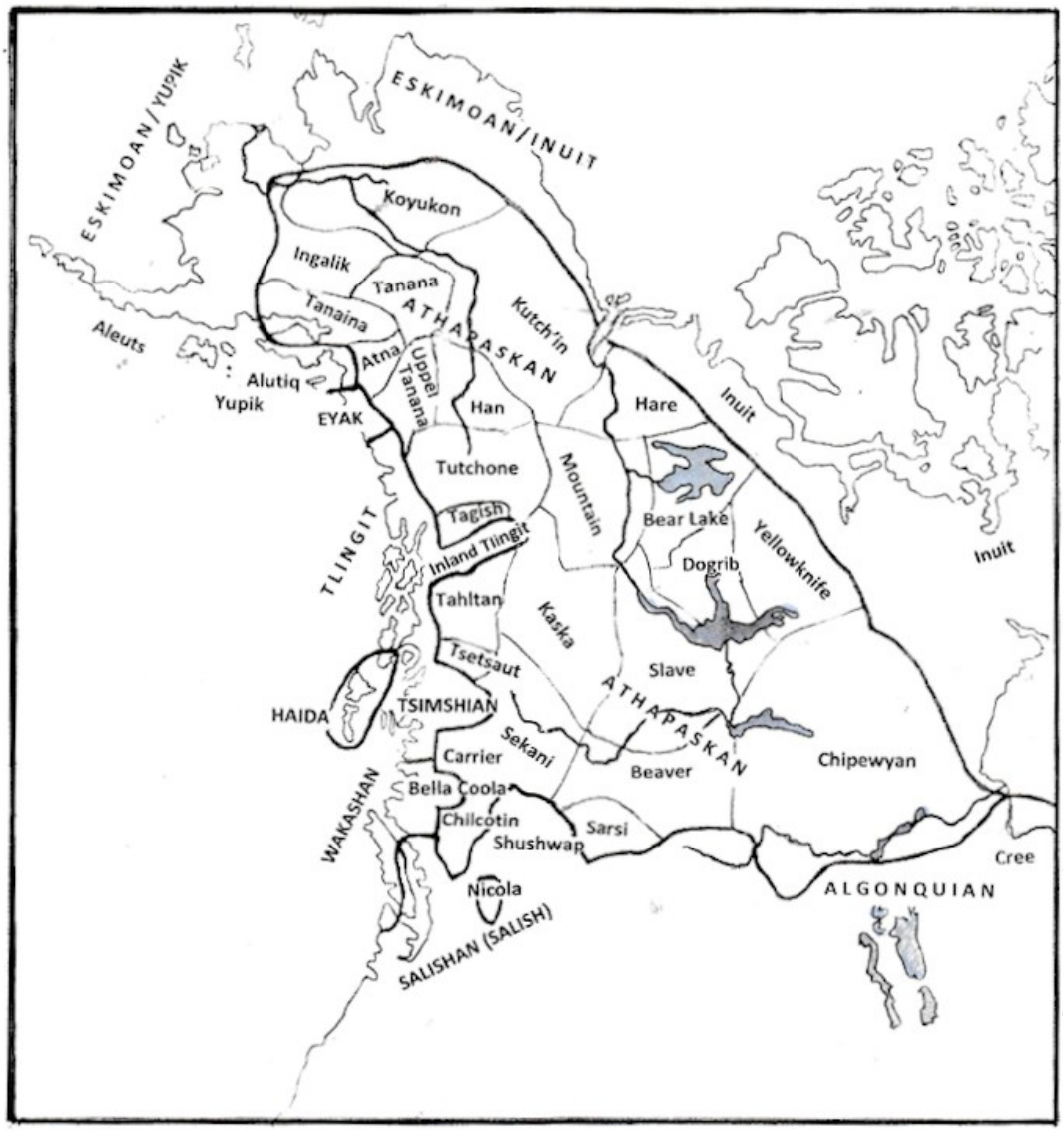
Appendix 1

Map of language families and languages on the Pacific Northwest Coast



Appendix 2

Table of correspondences between some former Euro-American place or language names and restored or new Indigenous place or language names, both for the preceding map and in the text 'Matrilineal Kin Groups in Northwestern North America' by Frederica de Laguna (next article). The names are grouped alphabetically by language, presented in Latin orthography, and French place names are in parentheses. Please note that, despite our best efforts, this list is not exhaustive.

Algonquian speakers	
Cree (Cri)	Nehiyawewinï
Athapaskan speakers	**Athabascan or Na-Dene speakers**
Atna	Ahtna
Bear Lake (Lac des Ours)	Sahtúot'ine
Beaver (Castor)	Dunneza, Dane-zaa, Dunne Tsa, or Tsattine
Chilcotin (Tchilcotin)	Tsilhqot'in
Carrier (Porteur): Northern Carrier	Dakelh
: Southern Carrier	Dakelh, Nazko, and Ulkatcho
: Western Carrier	Wetsuwet'en
: Babine Lake	Nataot'en
: Frazer Lake	Nadot'en /Yinka Whut'en
Han	Hän, Hän kutchin, Hwëch'in
Hare (Gens-du-Lièvre)	K'asho Got'ine
Holikachuk	Doogh Hit'an
Ingalik	Deg Hit'an
Kaska	Kaska Dena
Koyukon	Koyukon, Denaa
Kutchin (Loucheux)	Kutch'in or Gwitch'in (in Alaska) Gwitch'in or Dinjii Zhuh (in Canada)
Mountain (Montagnards)	Shuta Got'ine
Nabesna	Nabesnat'ana
Sarsi	Tsuut'ina/ Tsu-T'ina/Tsúûtinà
Sekani	Tse'khene, Tsek'ehne
Slave, Slavé, Slavey: North Slavey	Sahtú
: South Slavey	Dehcho, Deh Cho, Deh Gah Got'ine
Tagish	Kot'inè
Tahltan	Tahltan, Tâltan
Tanaina	Dena'ina
Yellowknife (Gens-du-Cuivre)	T'atsaot'ine Weledeh
Eskimo-Aleut speakers	**Inuit speakers**

Aleut (Aléoutes)	Unangan, Unangas
Eskimo	Inuit
Yupik	Alutiiq, Sugpiat, Chugach, Koniag
Eyak speakers	
Eyak	Eyak, daXunhyuu
Haida speakers	
Haida	Xaayda
Kutenai speakers	
Kutenai	Ktunaxa
Salishan (Salish) speakers	
Bella Coola	Nuxalk
Shushwap	Secwépemc
Tlingit speakers	
Tlingit, Koloshi,	Tlingit, Lingít
Tsimshian speakers	
Gitksan	Gitxsan
Metlakatla	Maxłaxaała
Niska	Nisga’a, Niska’a
Wakashan speakers	
Bella Bella	Heiltsuk
Haisla	Xaisla
Kwakiutl	Kwakwaka'wakw
Nootka	Nuu-chah-nulth

Volume 02, Issue 2 Autumn 2021 / Winter 2022 Pages 43 - 132

Matrix: A Journal for Matricultural Studies

https://www.networkonculture.ca/activities/matrix

This article was originally published in *Proceedings: Northern Athapaskan Conference, 1971,* Vol. 1, ed. Annette McFayden Clark, Canadian Ethnology Service Paper 27 (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, Mercury Series, 1975), 17-145. This is a REPRINT of that seminal report with permission of the University of Ottawa Press and the author's literary executor.

Matrilineal Kin Groups in Northwestern North America

FREDERICA DE LAGUNA, PhD

Abstract

Various theories about the origin of matriliny in the interior of Alaska and the Yukon Territory and on the northern Northwest Coast are reviewed. The nature of these matrilineal exogamous kin groups is compared to that of the bilateral septs or "ancestral families" of southern British Columbia, especially with respect to such functions as regulation of marriage, potlatching, control of property -- including crests, ceremonial prerogatives, and territories, succession to chieftainship, and acquisition of shamanistic power.

The matrilineal institutions of the various Indian tribes are discussed, with special emphasis on sib[1] names, crests, and traditions, since these are evidence of complex historical processes. The tribes themselves fall into six groups:

(1) The Tsimshian-speakers with a four-phratry system;

(2) those influenced by or related to them (northern Carrier, etc.);

(3) coastal tribes with Raven-Wolf/Eagle moieties (Haida, Tlingit, Eyak);

(4) the interior tribes influenced by them (Tahltan, Inland Tlingit, Tagish, Tutchone, Kaska, etc.). In all the above groups the sibs possess crests or are equated with Tlingit sibs or moieties.

1 The term *sib* was formerly used by anthropologists to designate a *matrilineal clan or kin group*, while the general term *clan* formerly designated patrilineal kin groups (see Guédon's Introduction to this article). In today's usage, *clan* now designates ALL unilineal kin groups either named or whose members are related to the same ancestor, whether the ancestor is named or not. When the ancestor is named and the kin connections to the ancestor are known, today we speak about a lineage. Since the piece was written in 1971, the author uses to term *sib* to mean *matrilineal clan*.

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(5) Athapaskans with moieties and sibs, lacking true crests, and showing no clear evidence of coastal influence (Atna, Tanaina, Upper and Middle Tanana).

(6) Athapaskans with two opposed sibs (moieties) and a third "middle" kin group (Lower Tanana, Koyukon, Upper Kuskokwim, Kutchin, Han). This "middle group" that can marry with both of the others, like similar anomalous sibs among the Haida and Tlingit, represents immigrants, not yet fully assimilated.

Lastly, socio-ecological conditions of the western Athapaskans are contrasted with those of their sib-less eastern relatives to suggest how matriliny might have developed. Many of the birds, animals, and fish used for sib names and crests are inland, rather than coastal, and also suggest influences from Siberian, as well as North American shamanism. Although an interior Alaskan origin is suggested for the matrilineal sib-moiety system, the most complex development of matrilineal groups and especially of their crests has taken place on the lower Nass, Skeena, and Stikine rivers, probably under the stimulation of population exchanges between the Tsimshian, Tlingit, Athapaskans, and Kwakiutl speakers. Crests and ceremonial privileges have then been imported into the interior.

Résumé

Voici un bref aperçu des diverses théories sur l'origine du système matrilinéaire chez les peuples amérindiens de l'Alaska intérieur, du territoire du Yukon et de la côte pacifique. Ces groupes de parenté exogames et matri-linéaires sont comparés aux clans bilatéraux ou "familles ancestrales" du sud de la Colombie-Britannique, surtout en regard de fonctions telles que la réglementation des mariages, les potlatchs, le contrôle et la disposition des biens -- y compris les blasons et insignes de rang, les prérogatives cérémonielles et l'usage des territoires -- la transmission des titres de chef, et l'acquisition des pouvoirs chamaniques.

Les institutions matrilinéaires des divers peuples amérindiens sont analysées d'après les noms des sibs[2], leurs insignes et blasons, et leurs traditions, tous ces éléments découlant de processus historiques complexes. Les peuples eux-mêmes se divisent en six groupes:

(1) Les peuples de langue Tsimshian, utilisant un système de quatre phratries;

(2) les peuples influencés par les Tsimshian ou leur étant apparentés (les Porteur septentrionaux, les Tsetsaut, etc.);

2 Le terme *sib* était autrefois utilisé par les anthropologues pour désigner un *clan matrilinéaire ou un groupe de parenté*, tandis que le terme général clan désignait autrefois des groupes de parenté patrilinéaire (voir l'introduction de Guédon à cet article). Dans l'usage actuel, *clan* désigne désormais TOUS les groupes de parenté unilinéaires nommés ou dont les membres sont liés au même ancêtre, que l'ancêtre soit nommé ou non. Lorsque l'ancêtre est nommé et que les liens de parenté avec l'ancêtre sont connus, on parle aujourd'hui de lignage. Depuis que l'article a été écrit en 1971, l'auteur utilise le terme *sib* pour signifier *clan matrilinéaire*.

(3) les tribus côtières utilisant un système de deux moitiés (les Haida: Corbeau-Aigle, les Tlingit: Corbeau-Loup, les Eyak);

(4) les tribus intérieures qu'elles ont été influencées (les Tahltan, les Tlingit de l'interieur, les Tagish, les Tutchoni, les Kaska, etc.). Dans tous les groupes mentionés ci-dessous, les sibs s'identifient par leurs blasons, ou correspondent aux sibs et moitiés des Tlingit.

(5) Les Athapaskan utilisant un système de moitiés et de sibs sans blasons véritables et ne témoignant pas d'influence côtière précise (les Atna, les Tanaina, les Tanana de la Tanana moyenne et superieure);

(6) les Athapaskan utilisant un système où, aux deux sibs opposés (moitiés) s'ajoute un troisième groupe de parenté "intermédiaire" (les Tanana de la Tanana inférieure, les Koyukon, les Kuskokwim de la Kuskokwim supérieure, les Kutchin et les Han). Ce "groupe intermédiaire," dont les membres peuvent épouser un membre de l'un ou l'autre des deux autres groupes, comme dans certains sibs Tlingit et Haida dans des conditions d'anomie, pourrait représenter des immigrants non encore pleinement assimilés.

Enfin, un contraste est établi entre les conditions socio-écologiques des Athapaskan occidentaux, et celles de leurs parents orientaux non divisés en sibs. Un grand nombre des oiseaux, des animaux et des poissons identifiant les sibs et les blasons fréquentent les régions intérieures plutôt que les côtes, et témoignent, en outre, d'une influence de chamanisme sibérien et amérindien. Bien qu'un tel système matrilinéaire à sib-moitié ait eu son origine dans l'Alaska intérieur, les systèmes matrilinéaires, et les blasons en particulier, se sont surtout développés le long du cours inférieur des rivières Nass, Skeena et Stikine, probablement en raison du stimulus résultant des échanges de population entre les Tsimshian, les Tlingit, les Athapaskan et les peuples de langue Kwakiutl. Ensuite, les blasons, insignes de rang et privilèges cérémoniels auraient été importés vers l'intérieur.

Introduction

The existence of matrilineal sibs and/or moieties or phratries among the western Athapaskans of British Columbia, Yukon Territory, and Alaska presents a striking contrast to the absence of any unilinear descent groups among the eastern Athapaskans of the Mackenzie drainage. The western Athapaskans with matrilineal sibs include the Koyukon or Ten'a but not the Ingalik -- the Upper Kuskokwim Indians, the Lower, Middle, and Upper Tanana Indians, the Kutchin, Han, Pelly River, western Kaska, Northern Tutchone, Atna, and Tanaina. The sibs of these "tribes" or "nations" lack crests and names clearly suggestive of the Northwest Coast. Athapaskans with sibs that show Tlingit influences to varying degrees in sib names or in the possession of crests are some of the Southern Tutchone -- probably not the western groups -- and Tahltan. With these we could group the Inland Tlingit and the Tagish, and also the Eyak of the Alaskan Gulf Coast. Athapaskans with sibs and crests that apparently show Tsimshian influences are the Tsetsaut, northern Carrier -- the southern Carrier have crests but no sibs -- and Sekani. Information available to me about the Chilcotin, the southernmost Athapaskan group on the Plateau, is contradictory. The interior Salish-speaking

Kootenay, Lillouet, and Shuswap apparently borrowed some institutions involving crests from the Carrier, but need not be considered further.

Typical of Athapaskan groups without sib organization are the eastern Kaska, Hare, Mountain, Bear Lake, Dogrib, Slave, Beaver, Yellowknife, and Chipewyan. These peoples have loosely organized semi-leaderless kin-linked local bands, and also larger territorial groupings, named for the localities they exploit. In the extreme south, the Sarsi appear as a Plains tribe, while on the extreme west, the Ingalik of the Lower Yukon and Kuskokwim lack sibs and live in communities like those of the adjacent Eskimo, organized about the kashim.

The Eskimo to the north, west, and southwest of the Alaskan Athapaskans have either simple bilateral families or, like the Nunivak Islanders, have what would appear to be incipient patrilineages with features suggestive of "totemism." These are all the more remarkable because residence on Nunivak is matrilocal. The Pacific Eskimo adjacent to the Tanaina, Atna, and Eyak had many features of Northwest Coast culture, such as chiefs with high rank and wealth, slavery, potlatches, and crest-like art forms, but lacked both sibs and crests.

On the northern Northwest Coast, of course, matrilineal sibs are most highly developed. They are organized into moieties among the Eyak, Tlingit, and Haida, and into four phratries among the Tsimshian, although not every Tsimshian "tribe" among the Niska and Gitksan necessarily possesses the full number. The Kwakiutl-speaking Kitimat or Haisla also have a matrilineal system patterned after that of the Tsimshian, but the tribes farther south on the central Northwest Coast (Heiltsuk or Xaihas, Bella Bella, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, and Nootka) had corporate kin groups or septs, aptly termed "ancestral families" by McIlwraith (1948), that functioned as crest-holding units, but which were based upon extended bilateral descent. Still farther south, the Coast Salish possessed somewhat simpler bilateral family institutions. One has to travel far -- to the Crow of Montana or to the Athapaskans and Western Pueblos of the Southwest -- before again encountering matrilineal social organization.

Swanton (1904, 1905a), Sapir (1915b), MacLeod (1924), Olson (1933), Birket-Smiith (in Birket-Smith and de Laguna 1938), Garfield (1951, 1953), Murdock (1955), McClellan (1964), Inglis (1970), and others have attempted to explain this curious situation. There seems to be no doubt that some of the distribution of matrilineal sibs and/or of the ceremonial privileges they claim is due to borrowing. Thus, Garfield (1951:18) states: "Tribes adjacent to the Tsimshian and Tlingit show clear evidence of having borrowed their distinctive features of kinship structure and functioning, principally as the result of intermarriage." This appears to be true of the northernmost Kwakiutl-speakers and of some of the nearby Athapaskans. But the question still remains: What is the origin of matriliny in the northwest? How did it develop? Is it a local independent phenomenon, or is it linked to unilineal descent in other regions?

Swanton (1905a:670-671) argued that matriliny was not archaic, as Morgan had claimed, but rather: "Instead of being primitive, a study of the north Pacific area convinces me that the maternal clan system is itself evolved, for there is every indication that it grew up in the small area at the mouths of

the Nass and Skeena rivers and was spreading northward, southward, and inland at the time these first came to the notice of Europeans." Lowie (1920:176) accepted the thesis that:

> By far the majority of the Northern Athapaskan tribes are sibless...However, those Athapaskans in immediate contiguity to the coastal tribes have modelled their organization on their neighbors', borrowing the rule of matrilineal descent.

MacLeod (1924:254-257) argued for a Northwest Coast center for the ''mother-sib," from which Carrier, Babine, Tahltan, Tsetsaut, and interior Alaskan Athapaskans derived their matrilineal institutions. This system was "so vital in fact that it was in process of steady diffusion to the sibless people surrounding" (MacLeod 1924:254). MacLeod also points out that the interior Athapaskans have a tripartite sib system and lack crests: "...the Northwest Coast sibs may at one time have been without crest insignia, these latter being a late artistic development perhaps, and conceivably developed even in a sibless group like the Kwakiutl" (MacLeod 1924:257).

In reviewing ''The Social Organization of the West Coast Tribes," Sapir (1915b[l966]) takes the position that both the septs or bilateral family groups of the Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, and Nootka, and the matrilineal sibs of the Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit were originally local groups, each of which made its exclusive claims to certain prerogatives or crests. These small local groups were later brought together to form the present village communities, consisting of several kin groups. Clans differ from septs ''primarily by the restriction of inheritance (Sapir 1915b [1966]:39), but why this should have come about is not suggested, although he notes that exogamy is now at least an attribute of the moiety or phratry, not of the constituent clans.

> If we assume, as I believe to be the case, that the clans were originally nothing but village communities, it follows that the present distribution of clans is secondary and due to migrations or movements of part of the clansmen away from the main body of their kinsmen (Sapir 1915b [1966]:41).

Traditions of the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian clearly indicate that such movements of clans or subdivisions of these have often taken place. Those who separated would have retained their old crests and privileges held also by the parent group, argued Sapir, but each offshoot would, in time, acquire new ones, not shared with the other branches.

> Even more fundamental than clans are, among the northern tribes, the phratries which include them. Their origin also is far from clear. Whether they resulted from the amalgamation of a number of clans into larger units, or whether, on the contrary, the clans within the phratry are to be considered as local off-shoots from it, is often difficult to decide. On the whole, however, the latter alternative seems the more typical one (Sapir 1915b [1966]: 46).

This, he argues, is because the phratric crest is shared by all, or most, of the member clans, and because each community, of necessity, contains representatives of at least two exogamic moieties or phratries. "It is conceivable that the phratries are sociologically reinterpreted forms of originally distinct tribal units," that is, represent a group or groups of aliens incorporated into the main tribe (Sapir 1915b [1966]:47). This explanation is certainly valid for many individual sibs, but probably not for whole moieties or phratries.

The problem still remains, however, whether crests are an integral aspect of the system of sibs and phratries and grew up with them, or whether the exercise of crest privileges represents a secondary function of the descent group, whose earliest and most important function may have been to regulate the reciprocal relations between kinsmen or the exploitation of territorial resources. A third possibility is that the crests, which are now the most precious possessions of these groups, marking the status and identity of their members, were originally primary, and that the different forms of descent groups developed in order to control their inheritance. In any case, we should still have to explain why crest-holding groups are matrilineal and exogamous in the north, but bilateral and endogamous by preference in the south.

When Olson studied forms of American aboriginal social organization in 1933, he attempted to prove a common origin for all New World sib systems, citing such common features as animal names and various aspects of duality or opposition, and came to the conclusion that the principle of unilateral descent had been introduced from the Old World in quite ancient times. Garfield (1953: 59-60) quite properly criticizes his arguments by pointing out that animal names, duality or moiety organization, specific rules of residence or of inheritance, and principles of descent do not necessarily diffuse together, but may come together through secondary association. I might add that while animal names are common among American Indians, they are infrequently used as sib designations on the Northwest Coast. Garfield (1953:61) concludes: "A thorough understanding of matrilineal sibs and moieties of northwest America is not to be gained by a comparative study of similarities between unilateral institutions of this area and others, either in the Americas or in Asia." Rather, a study of dynamic factors is needed.

On the whole, Garfield feels that sibs are probably older than moieties and phratries on the Northwest Coast, and she is inclined to favor the theory advanced by Birket-Smith (Birket-Smith and de Laguna 1938:526-527) that:

> Elements of a matrilineal complex have undoubtedly been introduced into the Northwest Coast from Asia. These probably included matrilineal descent with exogamy, totemistic beliefs and property control by the lineage. It is not possible in the present state of our knowledge to date the diffusion, nor to say with certainty which elements came together or singly. Whatever the facts revealed by further study, it is apparent that the greatest elaboration of the basic ideas was accomplished in the restricted area of southeastern Alaska and the coast of British Columbia south to Rivers Inlet, though matrilineal descent extended only to Gardner Channel (Garfield 1951:19).

As a drawback to this theory of Asiatic origin, she (Garfield 1953:59) has further pointed out that the nearest matrilineal area is far away in Southeast Asia, and if the Northwest Coast was perhaps occupied only in comparatively recent times -- now disputed by recent archaeological evidence -- or, more likely, that the highly specialized sib-moiety/phratry systems of this region are of relatively recent elaboration, then these last cannot be simply the result of diffusion, but must represent the syntheses of elements already present.

Even if diffusion did not introduce the idea of matrilineal sibs from Asia, it could have introduced other elements which were grafted onto these. See traits of what I have called the Circum-Pacific Culture Drift (de Laguna 1947:278-279), particularly the memorial column at the grave, carved with the inherited spirits of the family line, in bird or animal form, which may have been the germ of, or one element of, the idea of crests. In this connection I (1947:91-92) have also cited the resemblance to totem poles of the posts carved with guardian spirits in anthropomorphic or animal and bird form that protect the home of the Goldi shaman. If such Siberian influences were involved, the earliest matrilineal sibs on the coast may have been, as MacLeod suggested, crestless like those of the northwestern Athapaskans. We should, at least, consider this possibility and, above all, not assume that everything about the sib systems of these Athapaskans was derived lock, stock, and barrel from the coast. As Drucker (1963:198) has pointed out:

> Although it is often assumed that the matrilineal organization of the Athapascans of the interior (Ten'a, Tanaina, Atna, Loucheux [Kutchin], Tsetsaut, Tahltan, Western Nahane [Kaska], Babine, Chilcotin, Carrier), and of the Eyak, represented coastal influence, the opposite may be true.

This problem cannot be solved until a careful analysis is made of the kinship structures involved and of the functions and prerogatives associated with them.

Two of the recent speculators on the subject, Murdock (1955) and Inglis (1970), agree in recognizing the northern Northwest Coast as the center of elaboration and diffusion of matrilineal institutions to more southerly coastal tribes, but disagree as to the place of origin of matriliny itself. Murdock has taken the position that the original basic kin systems in North America were bilateral, with Hawaiian type kin terms, limited polygyny, and optional matrilocal or patrilocal residence, and completely lacked unilinear descent groups. All deviations from this fundamental pattern were developed under the influences of local conditions, except for the bilateral nuclear family organization of the Eskimo and the matrilineal structures of the American northwest. Both of these latter forms were, however, Asiatic in origin and were presumably introduced by the ancestors of the present Eskimo and Nadene peoples, respectively, who furthermore represent the last two waves of immigration across Bering Strait.

As Murdock explains (1955:86-87):

> The northern Northwest Coast and its hinterland of Athapaskan tribes constitute an area of matrilineal descent. The unusual assumption that this structural system originated on the coast and diffused to the interior Athapaskans appears to me in the highest degree unlikely. The conditions in neither area are of a type ordinarily conducive to the emergence of the matrilineate. It seems preferable to postulate that the ancestors of the Nadene peoples entered the New World with remnants of an old matrilineal organization, and that these were lost by the tribes which migrated eastward but retained by those remaining in the west, that those of the latter who moved from the interior to the coast and became the Eyak, Tlingit, and Haida elaborated their simple original system into the complex forms found there, and that these were borrowed by their Tsimshian and Haisla neighbors.
>
> Among the Athapaskans the matrilineal organization is usually characterized by exogamous moieties rather than sibs or lineages [a position to be discussed], by bride-service rather than a bride-price, by variable residence as often patrilocal as matrilocal, by a complete absence of localized clans and local exogamy, by limited polygyny and independent nuclear families, by Iroquois cousin terminology, and by preferential cross-cousin marriage. On the coast, under the stimulus of more abundant resources, a sedentary mode of life, and an enhancement in the economic importance of the male sex, residence became universally avunculocal, bride-service was replaced by a bride-price, polygyny became more general, local aggregations of males of the same moiety gave rise to extended families and clans, and kinship terms often shifted from the Iroquois to the Crow form, as among the Haida and Tlingit.
>
> East of the continental divide the northern Athapaskans have lost the matrilineate except for traces such as matrilocality among the Beaver and Slave, and exhibit a bilateral organization of Hawaiian type approximating that of the Algonkian Cree, Montagnais, and Naskapi, who inhabit a similar environment. With them, on the basis of fragmentary evidence, belong the Beothuk of Newfoundland and the New England Algonkians.

An almost diametrically opposed position is taken by Inglis (1970), who argues that conditions on the Northwest Coast were peculiarly suited to the development of matrilocality and subsequent matriliny, because the food-gathering activities of women demanded intimate knowledge of local "harvesting" sites for beach foods, berries, roots, etc., and climatic uncertainties favored accumulations of food supplies at established village sites, from which male sea hunters could readily voyage, needing only general seamanship, not local knowledge. The argument is on the whole persuasive, and we are puzzled to understand why all the Northwest Coast peoples did not become matrilineal.

Following in part Drucker's reconstruction of Northwest Coast prehistory, Inglis envisages an original "Eskimoid," fully maritime, sea-mammal hunting people living along the North Pacific coast from Prince William Sound to Vancouver Island. Then came the Nadene ancestors of the Eyak, Haida, and Tlingit, pushing down the rivers to the sea, where they copied the maritime skills of the original shore

dwellers. It is these newcomers who became matrilineal-matrilocal; we do not know what origination was possessed by the earlier inhabitants. Later, the Tsimshian also came from the interior, displacing the Tlingit near the mouth of the Skeena. This they were able to do perhaps because they had acquired and perfected salmon and olachen fishing, and so could seize the best fishing sites. Inglis hazards that these fishing skills developed either on the lower Skeena, or diffused northward from the lower Fraser. River fishing is suggested as a new male activity, thereby explaining the development of avunculocality on the Northwest Coast. Even though Murdock (1955:86) may be vague about the specific conditions leading to this type of residence, I cannot accept Inglis' (1970:157) suggestion that riverine fishing increases male importance. Rather, reliance on fishing harvests, which need far more work and skill to prepare for storage than to catch, would seem to enhance the importance of the skilled female cooperating team who not only process the catch but control the cache. Avunculocality must be ascribed to other causes: warfare, slavery, other substantial forms of wealth, economic control over sons-in-law, political power and ceremonial prerogatives exercised by men. Nor is the distribution of matrilineal institutions among interior or southern peoples to be explained solely on the basis of economically or prestige motivated marriages.

McClellan (1964:7-11) has recently discussed the problem of matriliny among the Pacific drainage Athapaskans, arguing against the generally held notion that it was introduced from the coast, presumably associated with inter-tribal trade in protohistoric and early historic times. Rather, matriliny in the interior, as well as on the northern Northwest Coast, is ancient. Thus, she rejects Steward's thesis that the northern hunters of big game, of economic necessity, had "composite" bands composed of unrelated families before matriliny spread from the coast. Actually, Athapaskan regional bands are not composed of unrelated biological families; rather, they are loose social groupings held together by a network of consanguineal and affinal ties, while similar ties connect the bands in a "tribal" territory. McClellan also rejects Service's theory that the supposedly aboriginal patrilocal-patrilineal bands of the eastern Athapaskans became "composite" as a result of white contact, while the western Athapaskans, by virtue of their access to salmon, were able to adopt many features of Northwest Coast "chiefdoms."

These author, McClellan argues, have over-emphasized and over-simplified the supposed ecological and resultant socio-economic differences between fishing and big game hunting groups, especially since most, or all, Pacific drainage Athapaskans hunt caribou as well as fish. I would add that most authors underestimate the role played by women in hunting, especially in game drives or even in parties of their own (cf. Guédon 1971). Of greater importance, is the widespread custom of bride-service, which results in initial and sometimes prolonged matrilocal residence, although McClellan is careful to point out that this alone is not sufficient to create matrilineal sibs, since they are lacking among the eastern Athapaskans, such as the Slave, Chipewyan, etc., and among the Ingalik, who perhaps lost them under Eskimo influence. Lastly, in considering problems of contact and diffusion between communities, McClellan asks us to examine the nature of the social groups involved. The "simple classification of 'bands"' is too simple. These territorial units come together only seasonally; the most important social units are the smaller kin-based parties at fish or meat camps.

> Whatever our final conclusions about the causes of or the antiquity of matriliny in the interior, it does seem likely that protohistoric trade between coast and interior reinforced it by enhancing both sib consciousness and sib ranking at potlatches. Potlatching itself certainly expanded as the new supply of wealth trickled into the interior, first through native middlemen and later directly from the white traders (McClellan 1964:10).

The following pages do not pretend to offer a solution to these various problems, nor is it a distribution study in the ordinary sense. Rather, it is an attempt to draw together what is known about the nature and functioning of northwestern American matrilineal kin groups and about the various prerogatives associated with them and their leaders. Such data are needed for a fresh attack.

Matrilineal Tribes of the Northwest Coast

The tribal groups with matrilineal descent groups are: Haisla (Xaisla), Tsimshian, Haida, Tlingit, and Eyak. Among the last three peoples the constituent units, sibs, are grouped into exogamous moieties, except that among both Haida and Tlingit there seem to have been local units that did not fit perfectly into either moiety. The Tsimshian have four exogamous phratries, and the Haisla four phratries or major sibs plus two minor lines of which one is now extinct. While exogamy is the rule for these larger units, an improper marriage between their constituent sibs is less heinous than a union involving two sibmates. On the other hand, marriage between cross-cousins is preferred, with the father's line stressed as the "opposite" to one's own. I suspect that the sibs should be regarded as the primary exogamous units, even though groups of sibs have become classed together by common marriage restrictions.

The sibs, or their local branches, own hunting, fishing, and berrying places, and are identified in sentiment with particular localities, either those which they now exploit or places from which their ancestors came. Sibs are commonly named for such localities. Sibs also own crests, that is, the right to display these or to dramatize them at potlatches, in carvings and paintings on houses, totem poles, canoes, and other objects. These houses, poles, canoes, and smaller objects such as feast dishes, spoons, articles of clothing (especially headgear), ceremonial paraphernalia (drums, dance paddles, masks), are apt to have personal names belonging to the kin group, just as do the names and titles of its members. Such names often refer to the crests. Crests are commonly animals, birds, fish, or celestial phenomena, the rights to use which were obtained by the ancestors of the present owners through encounters with Supernaturals. These Beings and the heroic ancestors are sometimes themselves used as crests. The mythical adventures of these ancestors are like the supernatural encounters of shamans with their guardian spirits, so that, as Swanton wrote (1905b:112): "we can hardly doubt that the system [of heraldic crests] was rooted in religion. Indications point to its having developed from the idea of the personal manitou." Garfield (1951:42) also makes the point that the ancestors encountered the supernatural in much the same way that the novice shaman may meet the spirit that gives him power:

> The principal elaboration on this basic guardian spirit quest pattern, developed by all the tribes on the northern part of the Northwest Coast area, was in dramatization of the experience, its identification with the lineage, and the use as crests of things the ancestors had heard and seen. The complex of ideas and things became the property of descendants who did not have to go through a supernatural experience again in order to benefit, but needed only to re-enact it by impersonation of the original participants.

Even the so-called secret societies, most highly developed among the Kwakiutl, but present to a lesser extent among the Tsimshian, are based on the same principle: that the right to perform certain dances, granted by a supernatural being to the ancestors of the bilateral septs, is inherited by their descendants, to whom the original spirits continue to appear. Rights to secret society or shamanistic privileges, like the right to display the secular crest in a potlatch, are inherited with or closely associated with "shamanistic" titles, the highest of which, like the highest secular titles, are monopolized by those of noblest birth.

In addition to the heraldic crests, there are others which may be prominent rocks, hills, or streams, usually given anthropomorphic or animal form according to the canons of Northwest Coast art. The display of these crests may serve to assert or reaffirm the territorial claims of the owners. There are also some crests which should more properly be called "crest-objects," such as particular feast dishes, headdresses, dance poles, etc. The tendency to think of crests in the concrete forms in which they are displayed means that any given crest animal, for example, may be rendered in several particular ways, some of which may be claimed by different kin groups, as well as by a single line. This "...tendency to artistic and dramatic representation in turn reacted upon the development of the crest system, a development that was strengthened by the ever-present desire for new privileges and for novel ways of exhibiting the old ones" (Sapir 1915b [1966):45-46). Other prerogatives of the kin group may be the right to sing certain songs, perform certain dances, or behave in special ways at the potlatch.

While some crests may be common to all branches of the moiety or phratry, in general particular crests are usually restricted to certain subdivisions, such as groups of sibs, individual sibs, or individual lineages or houses. Furthermore, each unit is apt to have its own special way of exhibiting a crest if this is shared with another kin group. From this tendency are derived such specialized crests as Eagle-Covered-With-Abalone or Winter Raven.

Although there may be some general sib, or moiety/phratry crest which any member of the group can utilize, like Raven face painting, this is not true of most. The rights to display the crests tend to be associated with those holding titles, and those with the highest rank, such as the chiefs of sibs or heads of localized branches, will exercise this right by displaying the crests in their own person, or on their own houses, or through their close relatives. Those of lesser rank, the more distant relatives of the chief, descendants in junior lines, have lesser rights, and there may be some who have none and no chance of obtaining any, since rank and its privileges depend not only upon inheritance, but also upon wealth for validation. Thus, only the head of a kin group who has the support of many relatives can command the wealth sufficient to assume important titles and crests for himself, or to bestow

them on his junior relatives. Outside the social system were the slaves, chattels of the nobles, to be given away or destroyed like other property at potlatches when crests were displayed.

Crests, crest-objects, other ceremonial prerogatives, and territories are all alienable -- by sale, as indemnities to settle disputes, through seizure as booty in war or as collateral for an unpaid debt, and as gifts which may be part of the marriage portion given to a noble son-in-law, or given by the latter as part of the bride-price. In such fashion, crests originally associated with one kin group may be transferred to or preempted by another sib, either in the same or in the opposite moiety or in another phratry.

Although crests may be considered by the members of a lineage or sib as their most important property and distinguishing emblem, symbol of their greatness and that of their chief, "The fact that the name of the clan does not as a rule refer to a totem also seems to indicate that the clan may not, to begin with, be organically connected with a particular crest" (Sapir 1915b [1966]:44). Thus, crests are equally associated with the bilateral septs of the central Northwest Coast, while we also have some Athapaskan peoples with matrilineal sibs but without crests. Nor are stories of animal origin or association of ancestors with animals, such as we find among Athapaskans, to be interpreted as necessarily referring to crests. Among the Tlingit, however, who do not claim descent from their crest animals, the living creatures of the species are treated as members of the sibs and moieties that claim them as crests. For example, the Tlingit addresses a bear by the same kin term that he would use to a member of the Teqwedi sib or any other sib that "has the Bear." Members of such Bear sibs are believed to have advantages in bear hunting and, if a member of another sib is injured by a bear when hunting with them, he can claim damages from the Bear's "sibmates." These attitudes are paralleled among some Athapaskans.

On the coast, each kin group, sib, or localized segment of a wider division, has its chief or head, distinguished primarily by his wealth which is obtained through trade monopolies and the contributions of kinsmen and retainers, and which he in turn distributes to his own people or gives away to potlatch guests from other moieties or phratries. In the chief are vested the primary property rights of the group, even though he may not alienate such possessions without their consent. As "owner" of hunting and fishing territories, he may have the authority to open or close the hunting season, to send out hunting parties and receive a share of their catch, or to allocate sites for fishing. The chief is, however, more than an economic and ceremonial leader, for in every case he seems to have some judicial or political authority, at least with respect to members of his own group. He settles disputes among them, defends a kinsman in a quarrel with a member of another group, or, if his man is at fault, punishes him to prevent trouble. Chiefs usually took the initiative in matters of war and peace and in securing allies. However, even though one chief in a town may be outstanding in rank and position, he usually has no authority over other resident chiefs and their people. While sibs among the Haida and Tlingit (and Eyak?) have usually acted as independent political units in feuds, the most savage wars took place between sibs that lived in distant localities; common residence was to some extent a common social bond. Only the Tsimshian, like the Bella Bella, Bella Coola, Southern Kwakiutl, and Northern Nootka, formed true tribal units, in which all the people of a town or tribe

were united under the leading chief. These tribes formed confederacies only among the Coastal Tsimshian, Northern Nootka, and Southern Kwakiutl, where a chief of the confederacy was at the same time chief of his lineage or house group, of his sib or sept, and of his tribe. When chiefs are ranked, their kin groups as a whole are ranked accordingly, even though within each group there are also graded positions.

Succession to chieftainship on the northern Northwest Coast is from older to younger brother, from uncle to sister's son, or even from grandfather to son's son. Failing an heir in the correct line, chieftainship may pass to a relative in a related lineage or house. The most able among the group of potential successors can often be assured, for the title cannot be assumed without validation through a potlatch, or series of potlatches, and the relatives can give or withhold the necessary economic support. Sometimes, however, a less favored candidate, if rich enough, has been known to seize the title against their wishes. Junior members of a chief's line, if they commanded a sufficient following, have moved away to found their own house, or eventually their own sib, in another district.
Lastly, shamanism is inherited in the matrilineal line among the Tlingit and Haida, since one of the nephews of a deceased shaman is likely to receive his powers. Thus, the Haida shaman usually reveals his secrets to a nephew before his death, and a nephew always plays the role of shaman at the funeral of his uncle, whether or not he eventually obtains the former's familiars. To do so, he would also have to fast and cleanse himself. When possessed by one of his spirits, the shaman speaks in its language (some are Tlingit or Tsimshian), and is known by its name (Swanton 1905b:38, 53). Swanton does not, however, indicate what spirits belong to specific lines. The same is true of the Tlingit, among whom the chosen or receptive nephew inherits the spirits of the deceased uncle. Although he may manifest his future calling at the funeral, he has to obtain the spirits through repeated quests in the woods. They usually appear to the Tlingit novice in animal form, but are known by personal names, usually non-animal, expressive of their powers. The shaman himself inherits the name of his most powerful spirit. I believe that these spirits, for the Tlingit at least, are the ghosts of the dead that appear in the form of animal, bird, fish, even invertebrate, or anthropomorphic shape, but these do not correspond to the crests of the shaman's sib. Thus the land otter, the form assumed by one who dies of drowning or of exhaustion in the woods, is the most common and powerful shamanistic animal, but is a crest of only two Raven sibs among the Chilkat (Olson 1967:9, 10), and of a minor Raven sib at Kake among the southern Tlingit (Swanton 1908). The assistants of the Tlingit shaman are his own sibmates, but he can treat the sick and bewitched only in another sib, not his own.

Among the Tsimshian, the novice may receive a spirit that has appeared to an ancestor, but while he might go on his own quest, it was more usual for the aspirant to seek instruction from an established shaman. "Usually, the young man's maternal uncle, less often his father, paid the pedagogue. Older shamans also took their own sons, nephews or nieces as assistants and supervised their training" (Garfield 1951:47). In these respects, the Tsimshian followed more closely the practices of the bilaterally organized tribes to the south than those of the matrilineal Tlingit and Haida.

Relationships between the Athapaskans and Northwest Coast peoples should be considered in the light of all these usages, not simply in terms of matriliny per se, or even in similarity of sib names and crests.

The Tsimshian and Their Neighbors

The Tsimshian
There are three dialect groups: Tsimshian proper on the lower Skeena and coast, Niska on the Nass River, and Gitksan on the upper Skeena. These also represent the three major socio-cultural groups of the Tsimshian (Barbeau 1929; Boas 1916; Duff 1959; Garfield 1939, 1951; Sapir 1915a). In addition, there were certain coastal subgroups, now all but extinct. Among the Tsimshian there were from 25 to 30 winter settlements or "tribes", occupied by representatives of four exogamous matrilineal phratries, designated according to their major crests as: Wolf, Eagle, Raven (or Frog-Raven), and Blackfish (or Killerwhale)-Bear-Fireweed. Not all phratries, however, had representatives in every tribe of the Niska or Gitksan.

The Niska had four and the Gitksan seven poorly organized tribes that were independent of each other, although they traded, potlatched, and inter-married with each other. The nine tribes of the lower Skeena that moved to the coast and formed a confederacy still maintained their individual identities and claims to territories up the river. In addition, there were five independent coastal tribes, three of which were mixed with Bella Bella.

Within each phratry, or *ptex*, are branches, united by common myths and common crests. Smaller subgroups are houses, or *walps*, named for their chiefs. Whereas the members may once have lived in a single dwelling, these houses may now be scattered in different villages and even in different tribes. Each house in turn is made up of a number of lineages; these are the significant units, since members often live together in one dwelling or in one village. Lineages within the house are ranked, and lineage names commonly refer to localities, or to the manner of living of the members. Lineages and houses have each their own exclusive crests, privileges, etc.

The tribes are geographical units, named for the location of their main village. The tribal chief is the head of the leading house in his locality, and would be supported by all his tribesmen when giving large potlatches.

While Boas, Garfield, Barbeau, and Drucker (1963) give different names to the subunits, all agree that the phratries are loose aggregations of sibs (i.e., of houses and lineages), some of foreign origin, some local, as is reflected in their legendary histories and in the distribution of their crests. Phratries had no function other than that of exogamy; there was no concept of descent from a common phratric ancestor. The history of the Tsimshian can be understood in terms of the histories of their sibs and crests. Certainly it was the sib-crest system which influenced the adjacent Athapaskans. In the following, the orthography of native names has been simplified.

The phratries are:

1. Laẋ-gibu´, "On the Wolf''

2. Laẋ-ski´k, "On the Eagle"

3. Ġanha´da, usually called Raven. The name has no meaning in Tsimshian, but resembles the Tlingit name of a Raven sib, ĠanaẋA̲di or Ġanaẋtedi, "People of Ġanaẋ", apparently a Haida place name.

4. G̲Is̲pawad E̲´wa, untranslatable, but apparently referring to inhabitants of some place. Usually called Blackfish, Killer Whale, or Bear among the Coast Tsimshian and Niska. Identified with Gisrast (Gisxast), "Fireweed," among the Gitksan.

When intermarrying with foreign tribes, these phratries are equated on the basis of their major crests, not their names (Swanton 1905b:112-113; Boas 1916:519-522):

Haida	Tlingit	Tsimshian	Bella Bella
Raven	Wolf (or Eagle)	Wolf and Bear	Eagle and Killer Whale
Eagle (or G̲It̲I̲´ns)	Raven	Raven and Eagle	Raven

1. On the Wolf

Coast Tsimshian:
Boas lists only one sib, called by the phratric name, possessing as crests Wolf, Grizzly Bear, and Crane.

Niska:

I. At Kincolith, the lowest town, in 1894, Boas listed three clans:
   (a) Lax-tl̓ia´qł, “On…?”

   (b) Git-gige´nix, this seems to be a place name.

   (c) Git-wul-nak̓e´l, “All in One”

   Sapir, however, listed only one clan, called by the phratric name, and possessing White Grizzly, White Bear, and Wolf.

II. At K̲It̲gig E̲´nix (Gitgige´nix), “People Upstream,” Sapir reported only one clan, called by the phratric name, and possessing Prince Black Bear, (inflated) Water Monster, etc.

III. At Underleaf, still father upstream, there is one sib: Lax-tʼiyoˑqɬ, named for a Flathead village to the south. This had Son-of-Black-Bear and Wolf.

IV. At Gitlakiamix and Aiyansh, representing the tribe farthest up the Nass, there are three clans:
(a) K̲isq̓ansnã´t, “People of Home of Berry Bushes,” with Wolf, Black Bear, etc.
(b) K̲Ltw̲Ll’näk̓l̲´l, “All in One [though in different houses],” with Prince Black Bear, Controllers (a skull mask), Underground People (a wooden figure), Doorkeepers (posts), Platform of Stone.
(c) K̲itw̲Lll̲Uya´x^{u}, “People of Hiding Place,” with Many Wolves, Foolish Grease Dish, and Roasting a Man.

Gitksan:
Barbeau lists five clans.

(a) Larhwiyip (Laxwiyip), “Prairie clan,” the largest, whose ancestors are said to have been Tahltans who joined Tlingit fugitives (see Ravens, below) and came south with them, one branch going from the upper Nass to the Skeena, while other branches went to the Coast Tsimshian and the Niska. One group in this clan, called “Fugitives,” has some Eagle crests.

(b) Gitrhandakhl clan with three branches.

(c) Git’anrasrh, “Wild Rice clan” from the Skeena headwaters.

(d) A second Wild Rice clan. Clans similar to the above are found in the Frog-Raven (3) and Fireweed (4) phratries.

(e) Kaien (Hrain) Island clan of the coast, originally from the interior.

These Gitksan clans have Wolf in several forms, Grizzly Bear and Black Bear both in several forms, Beaver and Split Beaver, Mountain Lion, Weasel Headdress, Eagle in several forms, Thunderbird or Mountain (Golden) Eagle, Woodpecker, Cormorant, Shadow (of trees), Dragonfly, caterpillar or Split Person, Person with Large, Sharp Nose, etc.

Boas lists as the main crests of this phratry in general: Wolf (various forms), Crane, Winter Grizzly, Bear (various), Crystal Nose.

Most of the sibs within the Wolf phratry seem to have been originally Tahltan from the headwaters of the Skeena. They trace their origin to several brothers who fled after the murder of their uncle to take refuge with the Tlingit at the mouth of the Stikine. Later, some joined the Tongass Tlingit, and eventually some descendants of the latter settled on the Nass and Skeena among the Tsimshian.

2. On the Eagle:

Coast Tsimshian:

Boas recognized three sibs:

(a) Gun-huˊᵒt, “Runaways” from Alaska, who came around 1740. According to their own traditions they had emigrated from the Copper River country – i.e., Eyak land – after a defeat by a Raven group. On their journey south they destroyed a beaver dam and lodge, and killed the sorrowing beaver, thereby obtaining the Beaver Hat as their major crest. This story reminds us of that told by the Ḳatły̲l̲x-Kagwantan, a Wolf sib among the Tlingitized Eyak, to explain the origin of their Beaver crest. McClellan (1954:91) has pointed out that the stories about the Beaver crest, and the fact that it is also claimed by a Raven sib among the Angoon Tlingit, suggest that it had indeed been taken by one sib from another in war.

(b) Git-lax-wi-yiˊa, from the upper Skeena.

(c) Gitsʾoˑx, with Halibut crest, from the Bella Bella.

These sibs have the Eagle, Beaver, and Halibut as their main crests.

Niska:

I. Kincolith, where Boas recorded the following sibs:

i. Gisg̣apʾE̲na´x, “People Living Among Thorns.”

ii. Lax-loˊᵒkst, “Bundle of Things.”

iii. Gitsʾaˊoq, “In the Bow.”

iv. Laẋ-tsʾEmeˊlix, “On the Beaver.”

Sapir recorded four sibs also, two or three of which are the same as those of Boas. These are:

(a) K̲Isq̓apA̲nãˊẋt, “People Dwelling Among Thorns,” with Shark with Dorsal Fin, Eagle, Beaver, and Underwater Being as crests.

(b) Laẋlo´ᵘkct, “Bundle of Things,” with Eagle-Covered-With-Abalone, Supernatural Halibut, Standing Beaver, Prince Cormorant, and Face-Covered-With-Abalone as crests.

(c) K̲Itlaẋwusãˊx, “People Living On A Sand Bar,” with the Eagle crest.

(d) K̲Icq̓aʾäˊkc, “People Living on Water,” with Eagle Garment and Beaver-Eating-Wood crests.

II. At the second tribe upstream, no representatives of the phratry

III. At the third tribe upstream, there are two sibs:

i. “Bundle of Things,” but with Man-of-the-Woods, Shark, Nest House, Wooden Eagle, and Half-Halibut as crests (cf. Kincolith, sib b).

ii. K̲ɬtsE̲̲´^{e}q (cf. Boas sib c at Kincolith and c on the coast), “In the Bow,” with Beaver and Eagle.

IV. Farthest upstream, there are three sibs:

i. S̲̲amlax̣sgi´k, “Real or Foremost Eagle,” with Stone Eagle, Underwater Being, etc.

ii. Lax̣-ts̓Ame´lix, “On the Beaver,” with Humpback Whale and Beaver.

iii. K̲ɬtqanE̲̲´qs, “People of Ladders,” with White Marten and Gray Squirrel.

Sapir (1915a:20-21) points out that two of these Niska Eagle sibs do not have Eagle as a crest, and so were probably late increments to the phratry. Also the sib "On the Beaver" suggests by the form of its name that it may once have been a phratry.

Gitksan:

The Eagles are represented by only one sib at the southernmost Gitksan village, Kitwanga. This sib Gitanraet (Gitanxaet), "People of Fiddlers Creek," is supposed to be a branch of the group that came from Tlingit country. Because of a feud with the Wolves at Na’a (Port, Chester, Alaska), the Eagles had to flee, but took with them not only their own crests, Fin of Shark, Mother Eagle, Eagle's Egg, etc., but a Bear Headdress and Weasel Headdress of the Wolves. Later they acquired the Supernatural Halibut. On the Skeena River they also obtained the White Marten, Bear, and Beaver. They claim in addition the Squirrel, Dog Salmon, and Split Person, as well as Eagle in many forms.

According to Garfield (1951:21), it would appear that the Eagle phratry is composed of three main divisions: one of Tlingit origin with the Eagle and Beaver; another from the Bella Bella with the Halibut, while some lineages also have the Blackfish; and the third from the Athapaskans of the upper Skeena, presumably with the Marten and Squirrel, and possibly another form of Beaver.

Boas lists as crests of the phratry in general: Eagle, Beaver, Halibut, Devilfish, Hawk, Dogfish, Weasel, Cormorant, Crawfish, Whale, Sea Grizzly, Supernatural Salmon, Whirlpool, Woodpecker, Squirrel, and various monsters and supernaturals. It must be emphasized, however, that these crests are not common property of the various divisions.

3. On the Raven, or Frog-Raven, Ganha´da

Coast Tsimshian:

Boas recorded three sibs:

(a) G̣anha´da, phratric name, with Raven, Scalp with Fins, and Abalone Bow. They probably came from the north.

(b) Tsunadate, untranslated, but suggests the Tlingit name Tcu´nax, for a river entering Behm Canal, Alaska. They have Starfish, Raven, and Abalone Bow as crests.

(c) Lax-se´^{o}la, "On the Ocean," from the Tlingit at Cape Fox, with Bullhead; also have Raven, Starfish, and Frog. The form of the name suggests that of a separate phratry.

Niska:

I. At Kincolith, Boas noted:
(a) Gid-xq̓ado´q.

(b) "On the Ocean" (cf. Sib c̲ of the Coast Tsimshian).

Sapir, however, recorded only one sib with the phratric name, claiming Starfish, Two-Ravens, Frog, Birdskin Hat, etc., as crests.

II. Farther upstream at K̲i̲tgigE̲̲´nix, there was also just the undivided Qana´da, with Raven-Covered-With-Abalone, Sea Lion, Frog, and Mountain Goat Hat.

III. No representatives of the phratry.

IV. Farthest upstream, there is only one undivided sib, with Raven, Frog, and Robin.

Gitksan:

Barbeau (1929:153-154) calls this the Frog-Raven or Larhsail (Lax-se´^{o}l) phratry, and lists the following subdivisions:

(a) 'Neegyamks, descendants of Frog-Woman, apparently from the lower Nass, with some Haida ancestry.

(b) Naeqt or "Tongue-Licked," a subdivision of the above. Garfield (1951:22) indicates that these are the descendants of a Coast Tsimshian woman who was captured by the Haida, but escaped to the Nass, bringing the crests of her murdered husband.

(c) Nawleʹs sib, with myths and crests similar to those of the previous sibs, but claiming their origins in Prairie Town, a mythical town in the interior.

(d) Hlengwahʹs sib, a group with widely distributed branches, apparently of Tlingit ancestry.

(e) Gitʹanrasrh, Wild Rice sib, of Tsetsaut origin.

(f) Skasewasan, Waterlily sib, from the Carrier of Bulkley River.

(g) Plus other elements already resident on the upper Skeena who allied themselves with the immigrants from the north and west.

Since a number of Gitksan sibs regard the Frog in various forms as their principal crest, Barbeau calls this phratry Frog-Raven, although their own name is apparently a place name or one that may refer to the ocean. ''The Raven was a crest and identifying symbol of all lineages of the phratry both for the Tsimshian and for the equivalent phratry in tribes outside Tsimshian territory. No other phratry possessed a single crest with such wide distribution" (Garfield 1951:19-20).

The Gitksan not only have the Frog and Raven, both in a variety of forms, but various forms of the Eagle, Thunderbird, Kingfisher, Otter, White Groundhog, Wolverine, Trout, Starfish, Waterlily, Shadows, Monsters with Salmon-like Nose, Split Person and Whole Person, Bullhead or Sculpin, Frog-Woman, Person-of-Lake, -of-Smokehole, -of-Ladder, and various ancestors.

For the phratry as a whole, but without specifying branches, Boas lists Raven, Bullhead, Frog, Starfish, Sea Lion, Scalp with Fins, Abalone Bow, Dog, Weasel, Giant Grizzly, White Bear, Spring-of-Heaven, and other crests.

4. On the Blackfish or Bear, GlspawadE´wa; or Fireweed, Gisrast

Coast Tsimshian:
Boas recorded three sibs of the Blackfish or Killerwhale phratry:

(a) GitE̲m-lax-a´m, from Prairie Town, with Grizzly Bear.

(b) Git-na-gun-a´ks, from China Hat, reportedly with half Bella Bella, with Killer Whale or Blackfish.

(c) Git-ksE̲-sdza, descendants of Gau´o, who married a Sky Being, with Killer Whale or Blackfish.

Boas concludes that there seems to be two divisions of this phratry: one with Grizzly Bear and Killer Whale crests; the other with Grizzly Bear, Fireweed, and Mountain Sheep.

Niska:

I. At Kincolith, Boas learned of only one branch, Gisq̓aha´st, “Grass People [Fireweed].” Sapir recorded this as Ki̲sq̓ä´st, “People Living Among Certain Green Bushes.” They claimed Moon, Stars, Owl, Two-Men-With-The-Same-Intestines, White Deer, Rainbow, and Thunder.

II. Not represented.

III. A single sib with the same name as that at Kincolith, but possessing Prince Killer Whale, Owl, Water Grizzly, Rainbow, and Prince Mountain Goat.

IV. Farthest upstream, a sib of the same name, but again with different crests: Moon, Grouse, and Wild Goose. They are forbidden to use the Killer Whale.

Gitksan:

The same phratry is here called Gisrast (gisxast), "Fireweed," according to Barbeau, who noted the following clans:

(a) Sky clan. The most important division here and on the Nass. It is also important among the Haida, Babine, and Carrier of Bulkley River. They trace their origin to Prairie Town, where Skawah (Gau´o) married Rays-of-the-Sun. They are divided into three or four groups that consider themselves distinct.

(b) Gitkeemelae, also descendants of Skawah; from the upper Nass.

(c) Third branch of the Sky clan, with Finback Whale and Blackfish as crests.

(d) Giťanrasrh, Wild Rice clan. The phratric stratus of this clan is very peculiar; it is, indeed, quite unique. It belongs as much to the Wolf as to the Fireweed phratry. Some of its crests (the Grizzly, Cormorant, and Sharp-nose (*Dzarauh-rhlaw*) normally belong to members of the Wolf phratry. They consider themselves related to the Wolves and are called to assist their Wolf Relatives in potlatches. And it seems that they do not intermarry with them (Barbeau 1929:155).

(e) Family of Weegyet, that is too small to be a clan, but can be traced to a clan of the Eagle phratry, and so, retains Eagle crests. According to their traditions, the Eagle chief’s nephew married his clan-sister and so had to flee. He was adopted as a son-in-law by a Fireweed chief and gave his Eagle crests to his Fireweed children (Barbeau 1929:104).

The crests of this phratry are: Grizzly Bear in several forms, White Otter, Mountain Goat, Thunderbird or Mountain (Golden) Eagle (sometimes carrying groundhogs, as among the Yakutat Tlingit), Eagle, Owl, Grouse, Cormorant, Blackfish, Fireweed (haest), Mountain Fern, Snake, Crabapple, Moon, Stars, Rainbow, Earthquake, Moth or Decayed Corpse or Skulls, Snag-of-Bar (a monster), Winged Person, Sharp-Nose (or long-billed bird), Split Person or Half-Man, Many Skulls, Skawah (the ancestress), etc.

In conclusion, we find that although one version of mythical history would trace all the Tsimshian people from an original home in Prairie Town in the interior, from which the people separated after the Flood, the detailed myths belonging to each sib or localized subdivision are evidence that the Tsimshian as a nation are made up of groups from different places. The complexities of even one settlement are well illustrated by the traditions of the three Wolf and four Frog houses at Kitwancool, a Gitksan village on the upper Skeena with close Niska ties (Duff 1959). Thus, Boas (1916:525) has remarked that Tsimshian legends would indicate that the main body were an inland people, but that the Eagles came from the Haida and Tlingit, the Wolves from the Tahltan, the Ravens from the Tlingit, and part of the G̲I̲spawad E̲E̲´wa -- presumably those with the Blackfish or Killer Whale -- from the islands north of the Bella Bella.

The elaboration of the sib/phratry and crest system has, I believe, accompanied or resulted from the processes of migrations, amalgamations, and subdivisions by which the modern Tsimshian nation has been formed.

Peoples Influenced by the Tsimshian

Among the interior groups who have been influenced directly by the Tsimshian are the northern Carrier, especially those bands nearest the Gitksan. From them, elements of the matrilineal crest-holding system spread to the western Sekani, and from the latter to the Chilcotin. The Salish Shuswap in turn were influenced by the Chilcotin. To the north, the Tsetsaut, a now extinct group on Potland Canal, seem to have been originally an Athapaskan group like the Tahltan under Tlingit influence, who later came under the domination of the Tsimshian.

On the coast, the Kwakiutl-speaking Haisla (Xaisla of Douglas and Gardner Channels, comprising the Kitimat and Kitlope tribes) had sibs of Tsimshian origin. These were Eagle, Beaver, Raven Crow (now extinct), Blackfish, and Salmon -- the last only a Kitimat lineage. Still farther south, the Heilstuk (Xaihas) and Bella Bella had divisions named for the Eagle, Raven, Blackfish, and Wolf, which they themselves equated with the Tsimshian phratries, but these lacked strict matrilineal descent and exogamy, so were more like the septs of the Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, and Nootka (Drucker 1963:119-121). In the same way, the southern Carrier had crest-holding groups, but these were extended bilateral families, showing strong Bella Coola influence.

In all these cases, the diffusion of coastal ideas seems to have been inspired primarily by the importance of crests, both among the more northern groups who already possessed or adopted matrilineal sib and phratry, and among those with bilateral kin groups. Crests seem to have been

largely the prerogatives of the wealthy, and indeed many were personal property of the chiefs, to be passed on or disposed of as they chose.

Northern Carrier
The northwestern Carrier of Bulkley River were in contact with the Kitimat, Gitksan, and Coast Tsimshian who came up the Skeena to trade, and even with the Niska. The phratric organization of this group and of the Babine of Lake Carrier is clearly patterned after that of their coastal neighbors, although many details seem to be their own (Duff 1951; Goldman 1941; Jenness 1943).

> "Until very recent times the Carrier Indians have been rapidly borrowing features of social culture from their coastal neighbours" (Duff 1951:28).

These, he indicates, included phratries (more properly sibs), four of which have Gitksan names, and two others with Carrier Athapaskan names. These have crests, titles for nobility and other privileges, inherited in the matrilineal line. The phratries are exogamous and they, or groups of phratries, act as units at potlatches and funerals. The phratric chiefs controlled hunting and trapping grounds, another reason for considering these groups as sibs, not phratries. The chiefs also had personal crests, some of which were the same as the phratric crest. Among the western Carrier of Bulkley River and Babine Lake, the phratries were subdivided into ''houses." The Carrier groups farther away at Frazer Lake, Endako River, Cheslatta Lake, Stuart Lake, and Stony Creek had only phratries (sibs), and these were exogamous only within the particular band. "So unstable even were the phratries that today they are almost forgotten, and only resuscitated when members of these [eastern] sub-tribes visit the Bulkley River or Babine Lake" (Jenness 1943:584). It is obvious that among most Carrier groups the so-called phratries functioned primarily to provide chiefs with hereditary titles and crests, and that the full matrilineal exogamous sib-phratry system was not present.

The Carrier of Bulkley River offer an example of the most completely developed system. The following list indicates the equations made between the Carrier phratries and those of the Gitksan, for purposes of intermarriage, visiting and potlatching.

	Bulkley Carrier	Gitksan
1.	Gitamtanyu (or Tamtanyu)	Laxgibu (Wolf phratry)
2.	Gilserhyu (or Jilserhyu)	Laxse’l (Frog-Raven phratry)

Note the resemblance between this Carrier name and that of the Kutchin Jitsa, or Nabesna Tc̲i̲’tc̲E̲lyu.

3.	Laksilyu	Laxse’l

Laksilyu “… is evidently laxse’l, the name given by the Gitksan Indians of Hazelton to the Frog-Raven phratry…” (Jenness 1943:482, note 1)

4. Laksamshu (or Lsamasyu) Gisra'ast (Fireweed phratry)

Laksamshu "… is probably the same as laxsamillix, the Hazelton name of the Beaver clan in the Eagle phratry…" (Jenness 1943: 584)

5. Tsayu ("Beaver People" in Carrier) Laxsamillix (a clan of the Laxski´k or Eagle phratry)

It should be noted that the ending *-yu* or *-shu* means "people" in Carrier, just as *Gi-* means "people" in Tsimshian. In 1865, the Beaver people or Tsayu were so decimated by smallpox that they joined the Laksamshu (4) as a clan.

The houses and crests of the Bulkley Carrier show close correspondence to those of the Gitksan.

1. Gitamtanyu phratry (Wolf)
   a) Grizzly House, with Grizzly and Wolf as crests
   b) B1 and B2: House in the Middle of Many, and Anskaski House, with Raven, Fungus, and Weasel.

2. Gilserhyu phratry (Frog-Raven)
   a) Dark House, with Logs-Carved-Like-Men.

   b) Thin House, with Three Stars, Frog, Small Owl, Fire, Sidewalk, Totem-pole-in-the-Land-of-the-Dead, Property-Woman's Baby, and Crane

   c) Birchbark House, with Woodpecker.

3. Laksilyu phratry (Frog-Raven)
   a) House of Many eyes, with Long-nosed Monster, Mountain Man, Otter

   b) House on Top of Flat Rock, with Many Small Frogs, Big Man, and Swan.

   c) House Beside the fire, recently adopted Hudson's Bay Company flag as their crest.

4. Laksamshu phratry (Fireweed)
   a) A1 and A2: Sun or Moon House, and Twisted House, with Sun or Moon, Whale, Grouse, Weasel Skin with mallard neck skin.

   b) Owl House, with Owl, Moose, and Sapsucker.

5. Beaver phratry (Beaver sib in Eagle phratry)
   Only Beaver House, with Beaver and Eagle.

In some of the other Carrier groups, the following names appear, which may or may not be equivalents of those of Bulkley River.

6. Tso'yezhotenne, or Tsu'yazt tenne or Tsuyaztotin, "Small Spruce Tree People" in Carrier. This group has the Woodpecker as a crest, and is found at Cheslatta Lake and Endako River, apparently taking the place of No. 3, or combining with the latter (Laksilyu), at potlatches. At West Frazer Lake, the Gilserhyu (2) are called by this name, according to Jenness, although this is disputed by Duff.

Some Carrier groups have a phratry, Yiselyu or Yeselyu, which Jenness equates with No. 3.

Among the Babine Lake Carrier, the groups are:

1. Gitamtanyu
2. Gilserhyu
3. Kwakpe'hwotenne, "People of the Fireside" in Carrier, the same as the Laksilyu.
4. Laksamshu
5. Tsayu

At Frazer Lake there are:

1. Tamtanyu, with Grizzly, Black Bear, Entire Weasel, and Leaf as crests
2. Gilserhyu, with Big Frog, Crane, and Small Owl.
3. Laksilyu, with Raven and Big Frog
4. Łsamashu, with Owl, Grouse, Whale, Sun or Moon, and Half Weasel
5. Tsayu, with Beaver and Owl

Duff reports that at Frazer Lake, the remnants of phratry 6 are merged with phratry 3, and that phratries 4 and 5 combine for potlatches.

At Fort Frazer, according to Duff, there are phratries 1, 2, 3 and 6, 4 and 5.

Among the Endako River Carrier, there are:

1. Tam’tanyu. Crests unknown; destroyed by epidemic in early 19th century.

2. Yiselyu, with Frog. One chief adopted it as his personal crest.

3. Łsamashu, with Grouse

4. Tsayu, with Beaver. The chief has Wolverine as his personal crest.

5. Tso’yezhotenne, with Woodpecker.

Among the Cheslatta Lake Carrier, according to Jenness, there are:

1. Tamtanyu, with Grizzly. The chief has Old Grizzly and Wolf as personal crests.

2. Yesilyu, with?

4. Łsamashu, with Grouse. Butterfly? as chief's personal crest.

5. Tsayu, with Beaver. Wolverine as chief's personal crest.

6. Tsu’yaztotenne, with Woodpecker. The chief has Marten and a secret society prerogative as his personal crests, copied from the Gitksan, but the society as a whole was not adopted.

Duff recorded phratries 1, 2, 5, 6 (or 3) here.

The Stuart Lake Carrier, according to Jenness (citing Morice 1892), had:

1. Tam’tenyu (or Eske)

3. Yasilyu

4. Łsarnacyu

5. Tsayu

A Sekani informant of Jenness', who was related by marriage to the Stuart Lake Carrier, gave the name Eske to phratry 1, and added the name Kwanpahotenne. Jenness believes that there had originally been five phratries here, but that they had been amalgamated, as among the Bulkley Carrier.

Lastly, the Stony Creek Carrier, who are made up of Indians from Nulki Lake and Tatchik Lake, have only two phratries:

2. Gilserhyu, with Small Owl. Chiefs' crests are Wolverine and Sturgeon.

3. Yesilyu, with Frog and Crane. Chief's crests are the same.

This latter phratry is the same as Laksilyu, according to Jenness, who reports that the group from Nulki Lake claimed to have been all of phratry 2, while those of Tatchik Lake were originally all of phratry 3. Jenness thinks this would have been impossible, because exogamic marriages would have necessitated representatives of at least two groups. But the males could have been of only one, and the natives' statements seem to fit the concept of localized phratric (sib) hunting grounds.

Furthermore, Duff reports a similar situation for the Burns Lake people, who were formerly all Laksilyu, while Frazer Lake people say they were once all Jilserhyu. This suggests to him how phratries were adopted from the Tsimshian:

> The steps by which these subtribes adopted their present phratry system seems fairly clear. A first step was for a local band to take the Tsimshian-derived name of a phratry to the west and equate itself with that phratry....No two adjacent groups took the same phratry name....[The Tsayu and Tsuyaztotin, who had Carrier names] were equated for most purposes with Lsarnasyu and Laksilyu respectively, so that, for example, when Tsayu and Lsamasyu members found themselves in the same village, they amalgamated to form a single group. Yet they were never regarded as being completely identical (Duff 1951:32).

Since the Tsayu and Tsuyaztotin are found without the equated Tsimshian-derived phratries only in the Cheslatta area, Duff suggests that this was where they originated, although the wide distribution of the Tsayu (Beaver), south to the Algatcho Carrier, would indicate that it is as old as any of the others. The adjacent Kemano-Kitimat also had a Beaver clan, and Jenness had suggested that the Carrier adopted it from them. On the basis of the Tsimshian name for their Beaver clan, suggesting phratric status for that group, I would suggest that the Tsimshian not only took over the Beaver group from the Carrier, but that it was a very ancient sib, or sib name, among the Athapaskans. The Tsuyaztotin are restricted in distribution, and probably recent in origin. The name suggests that of a locality.

Duff also suggests that with the concept of phratries there also came from the west the ideas of rank, crests, matrilineal descent and exogamy. While the last two principles would result in the spreading of phratries and crests through inter-marriage between bands with different affiliations, it would seem, he argues, that phratric exogamy never made a deep impression, although matrilineal descent is well established. However, he notes that all six Carrier phratries were never functioning at any single place.

> We can be fairly sure that some form of one-phratry local groups existed among the Carrier as a transitional form, although we can only speculate on their nature. Being derived from the Tsimshian phratries, they probably had crests and other privileges which were transmitted among the nobility in the female line... Probably, however, exogamy was

> not a strict rule while the groups remained one-phratry groups, and it never did sink very deep (Duff 1951:34).

The major motive for adoption of Tsimshian customs was to obtain crests, I believe, as Jenness makes clear that every Carrier chief could exhibit or dramatize the sib crest, and some even preempted it as a personal crest. Every noble, that is, every wealthy man had a personal crest, or the exclusive right to wear certain paraphernalia and to act in a certain way at potlatches. Personal crests could be inherited in the maternal line, but they could also be bought and sold, and even invented, provided that they were validated in a potlatch.

Duff goes on to cite the southern Algatcho Carrier as a group who adopted crests, but rejected matriliny and exogamy, so that the crest group was simply "...a local group, whose members lived together as one family in the same village, shared common fishing sites and hunting territory, participated jointly in potlatches, and used as a crest the totemic animal designating the group" (Goldman 1941:399). Descent was bilateral, and so was inheritance of crests, although these required potlatch validation. Some crests were purchased from the chief, or from the upper Carrier, or the Bella Coola. The three crest groups were Beavers (tsayu), Grizzly Bears (cas), and Ravens (datsan, i.e., Crows), while one man called himself a Wolf (yAs). Goldman also mentions Black Bear and Owl as crests.

The upper Carrier phratries and the lower Carrier crest groups were alike in all functions pertaining to territorial rights, funeral reciprocities, crest displays, potlatching, and possession of a chief with some authority or influence in settling disputes and regulating territorial rights; they differed only in that the crest groups of the lower Carrier lacked exogamy and unilateral descent. These people were under Bella Coola influence, which may have begun in the latter part of the 18th century, but later became stronger when land furs had to take the place of sea otter. The lordly Bella Coola undoubtedly had to make marriage arrangements with the lowly Carrier in order to secure their furs, and in this way the latter obtained noble names and crests, but they did not begin potlatching until about 1840, according to Goldman.

The authors cited believe, therefore, that the southern plateau Athapaskans originally lacked sibs, and acquired them only as a result, or by-product, of accepting the crest-privilege system with which they were linked. When influenced primarily by such people as the Bella Coola, who lacked sibs, they could naturally take over crests, rank, and potlatching without the exogamous matrilineal kin group.

Western Sekani, Shuswap, and Chilcotin

Only those western Sekani who traded and intermarried with the Gitksan adopted something like weak phratries, but apparently these were neither properly exogamous nor matrilineal in descent (Goldman 1941; Jenness 1932). These groups were called nAtsi, like the crest groups of the southern Carrier, nAtsi being the Carrier word for "crest." The crests themselves are inherited matrilineally and are displayed only by the wealthy and noble. The latter also own personal crests, to be disposed of as the owner wishes.

According to Jenness, the Lower Parsnip River band of the Sekani tried to adopt the phratric system of the Stuart Lake Carrier, but gave it up when they found it to be of no advantage in the fur trade. Now they remember only the Beaver as the strongest phratry. The McLeod Lake Sekani are still classed as Beaver when they go to feasts with the Stuart Lake Carrier. The other two bands, trading at Fort Graham, tried to copy the system of the Babine Lake Carrier and of the Gitksan, but this functions only intermittently at petty feasts. All serious matters, such as control of hunting territories, are in the hands of the bands.

The Chilcotin also seem to have tried to take over a crest system from the Carrier, and in turn the Shuswap (Salish) copied it from them. The so-called "clans" were crest-holding exogamous groups, but with inheritance of rights from both father and mother. The wealthy who exercised these rights formed an endogamous nobility, so that the commoners were virtually excluded from participation in crest displays. Each crest group had an hereditary chief, put its crest on his house, on their main fishing place, and on their graves. Crests were Grizzly Bear, Raven, Wolf Eagle, and Beaver. The system was modern, having spread to the Shuswap about 1850. We can see here the idea of exogamous kin groups, without matriliny, adapted to the principle of bilateral crest-holding septs, but without endogamy.

The whole history of these plateau Athapaskans seems to me more complex than has generally been recognized. It is clear that the recent trend has been to adopt Northwest Coast (Tsimshian or Bella Coola) crests, and when possible to equate local Athapaskan groups with those of their prestigious neighbors. But with these strong motivations at work, why was it not possible for the Carrier of Bulkley River, who lived only a few miles from the nearest Gitksan town, to have copied the system completely? The very existence of five to six sibs or "phratries" among the upper Carrier is surely proof that these were not derived from the four-phratry system of the Gitksan - remembering, too, that the upper Gitksan had only three. I have the impression that these matrilineal exogamous kin groups may well have been very ancient among the Carrier, and that indeed they may have made important contributions to the Tsimshian system. I would view the lack of sibs farther south on the Plateau as due to loss, perhaps under Bella Coola or Salish influence, with a late attempt perhaps to reintroduce them along with crests.

Tsetsaut

The name of these people, Ts̓E̲ts̓aut, is the Niska designation, "peoples of the interior," applied to all Athapaskans (Boas 1895). The tribelet is now extinct, but seems to have been linguistically close to the Tahltan. It is reported that they left their winter home on the upper Stikine during a winter of famine, intending to visit their Tlingit friends, the Stikine on Behm canal. Losing their way, they came instead to the west shore of Portland Canal, where they fell under Tsimshian domination. About 1830 they were nearly exterminated by the Sanya Tlingit, and by the Athapaskan Laq̓uyi´p ("On the Prairie") from the headwaters of the Stikine. The survivors became "slaves" of the Niska "Chief Mountain."

The Tsetsaut had two exogamous matrilineal moieties, Eagle and Wolf, called by Niska Tsimshian names. The Wolf group was considered the equivalent of the Tlingit Teqwedi Wolves among the Sanya. In all respects recorded, their social organization seems to have been very similar to that of the Tlingit.

Emmons (1911:21-23) visited the survivors of the Tsetsaut in 1907 and gives a somewhat different account, which Boas rejects again in 1916. This is to the effect that the Tsetsaut claim to have had three sibs: Raven, extinct in 1907; Eagle, also extinct; and Wolf, the last represented by 7 individuals in 1907. The survivors of the massacre by the Tlingit had settled at the mission at Kincolith in 1885.

Northwest Coast Peoples with Moieties

The Tlingit and Haida are alike in having exogamous matrilineal moieties, subdivided into sibs, and these again into lineages or houses. Note that Drucker (1963:112), and Duff and Kew (1957:42) apply the term "lineage" to the larger group which I call "sib." The Eyak have a similar organization, some features of which were undoubtedly derived from the Tlingit. The Haida seem to have been the most highly organized and perhaps suggest a condition toward which the Tlingit were trending. There were certainly mutual influences between these two, but it is impossible to prove that the Haida have directly influenced any inland group. The Tlingit, on the contrary, have exchanged increments of population with the interior Athapaskans, and even have inland representatives. The Eyak, a non-Athapaskan but Nadene group, apparently have been long resident on the Gulf Coast of Alaska. Dr. Michael E. Krauss estimates that Eyak diverged from a Proto-Athapaskan stock 3500 years ago (personal communication).

Haida

The Haida are divided into two "sides," called "clans" by Swanton (1905b). These are Raven and Eagle, or G̲I̲tI̲´ns as the latter is known in the north. These are in turn subdivided into "families" (sibs) or local groups, known by the names of their towns or camp sites. Sibs are essentially local groups, occupying one town or area, although sib stories tell how original groups split up and established branches in different localities. Each local sib has its own chief, and its own set of personal names, house and canoe names, and rights to certain crests. The latter are largely representatives of animals, obtained originally from a Supernatural Being, or purchased from another sib. Within each local sib, there are also lineages or "houses," each under its head. Swanton believes that originally each town was inhabited by men of only one sib, plus their married-in wives and children. Adult sons would go to the towns of their maternal uncles, the daughters to the homes of their husbands. Duff and Kew (1957:42) point out that Swanton did not distinguish between permanent winter villages and seasonal camps, or between present settlements and abandoned sites, in his lists of "towns." At present, however, each town or winter village is occupied by several lineages, representing both moieties. The head of the leading lineage is the town chief, called "town master" or "town mother." There is a strong tendency for two lineages, one in each moiety, to intermarry, so that the men of one are called the "fathers" of

the other; the father's sister's daughter is the preferred bride, in order to keep inherited privileges within the same set of people. The fundamental unit is the sib, for it controls territorial rights for fishing, berry picking, and taking flotsam on stretches of beach.

The Haida believe that all Raven sibs are descended from the daughters of Foam-Woman. This is the only case in which all the members of a moiety or phratry are considered the descendants of a single progenitor, and in which the subdivisions can be considered as maximal or minimal lineages. On the other hand, the bilateral septs of the central Northwest Coast are said to be the descendants of ancestral progenitors. There are three major branches of Ravens, which are in turn subdivided into groups called "People of Such-and-Such a Town," or "Those Born at Such-and-Such a place." This scheme forms a well-organized genealogy. The Eagles likewise claim that they were descended from Djila´qons ("Greatest Mountain"), a woman who was brought either from Bentnik Arm in Bella Coola country, or from the Nass River, to become Creek-Woman of a stream on the west arm of Cumshewa Inlet. However, there are also northern Eagles or G̲ɬt̲ɬ´ns (untranslatable), who were not descendants of Djila´qons, or at least who tell conflicting stories about their origin, as well as a third group called St̲A̲´stas. Swanton believes that the Eagles form three divisions: (1) the Eagles proper, who trace their origin to the same region as do the Ravens, and who were subdivided into a northern and a southern branch; (2) the G̲ɬt̲ɬ´ns, with a northern origin; and (3) the St̲A̲´stas, of foreign extraction, part-Tlingit and part-Tsimshian. Swanton wonders if all of the Eagles were originally foreign, and if the Ravens were the original Haida. Certainly, there is less unity among the Eagles, and the majority of supernatural beings are classed as Ravens.

It should be noted that there was also an anomalous group, the "Pitch Town People," who lived in a wild section of the west coast of Moresby Island. While classed as Ravens, "I am not convinced that they were entirely exogamic" (Swanton 1905b:90). They are said to have been very foolish or barbarous, and so large that they needed two bearskins for a blanket. One wonders whether they may not have been a backward remnant of the original Haida, or a foreign increment, who failed to be entirely assimilated into the sib system. They are now extinct.

The Raven and Eagle are "grandfathers" of their respective moieties, but at Masset the Eagle is replaced by the Butterfly. In theory, the crests of the two moieties are distinct, and each sib has a right to several, but actually a few Raven sibs at Masset have acquired some crests which are on the Eagle side at Skidegate, such as Dogfish and Skate. A man can lend a crest to his son, but the latter is supposed to return it when he marries. According to the story, an Eagle man carved the Moon and gave it to his Raven son as a crest. Note that crest objects, houses, and totem poles, etc., are always carved or made by one's "opposites," for which the latter are paid at a potlatch. Curiously, Raven is a crest of the Eagle moiety, a fact which puzzles the Haida as much as the ethnographer. "Along with other indications, it points to a comparatively recent origin for the crest system" (Swanton 1905b: 112). On the basis of crests the Haida Ravens are equated with the Tlingit Wolves, the Haida Eagles with the Tlingit Ravens.

The crests of the various sibs of the Raven moiety are: Killerwhale (oldest), Moon (from the Tsimshian, used by the highest families), Grizzly Bear, Rainbow, Sea Lion Hat, Thunderbird or Blue Hawk, Clouds (as attire of The-One-in-the-Sea), Dogfish, Wolf, Flicker (on a hat), Raven, Hawk, Tree, Raven-Fin, Sea-Grizzly, Black Bear, Weasel, Owl, Skate, Mountain Goat (from the Tsimshian), Driftwood or Tide-Walker (Tc$\underline{\underline{A}}$´maos, often represented as Sea Lion or Blackfish, from the Tsimshian), Child of Property-Woman (Git$\underline{g}$A´lgia).

The crests of the various sibs in the Eagle moiety are: Eagle (the oldest), Beaver (from the Tsimshian), Raven Hat and Sculpin (given by the Tsimshian to atone for a guest who died from poisoned clams in Tsimshian country), Frog, Whale, Raven, Halibut, Hummingbird (as hair ornament), Cormorant, Dogfish (given to his child by a Raven man), Heron, Small Club, Dragonfly, Starfish, Copper, Weasel (hair tie), Marten Hat, Skate (also claimed by a Raven sib), Raven-Killer Whale with five fins, and Monster Killer Whale-Wolf.

The most common Raven moiety crests are: Killerwhale, Grizzly Bear, Rainbow, and Tide-Walker; the most common on the Eagle side are: Eagle, Beaver, and Sculpin. The rest of the crests may belong to a single sib only, and, for this reason, Swanton considers them as recent. The Ravens seem to fall into two groups, with either the Grizzly Bear or the Rainbow. Similarly, there are two groups of Eagles, both of which possess the Eagle, Beaver, and Frog, but one has the Sculpin, while the other the Halibut and Cormorant. But the remaining Eagles cannot be clearly grouped.

We might also note that there is a tendency to assign all Beings and animals to one or the other moiety, even if they do not all figure as crests. Thus in one myth, Raven is welcomed as his son by "a man with the aspect of a sea-gull," who lives under the sea (Swanton 1905b:73). This suggests -the opposition between Crow and Seagull among the Atna and Nabesna.

Tlingit

The Tlingit, like the Haida, are divided into two moieties, the members of which refer to themselves as Ravens (yeł) or Wolves ($\underline{g}$utc), and sometimes as Eagles (tc̓ak̓) among the northern Tlingit (de Laguna 1960, 1972; Garfield 1947; McClellan 1954; Olson 1967; Swanton 1908). The names for the moieties, when they are remembered, seem to be Tłayinedi ("Sitting Down People"?; or "Underneath People" in the shelter of a log [Olson 1967:13]) for the Ravens, and C$\underline{\underline{A}}$nkuqedi for the Wolves, although this last is more properly the name of a Wolf sib. Olson (1967:14) reports that recently many prefer the designation Kagwantan for the moiety, since it is the name of a powerful Wolf sib.

Excluding the Inland Tlingit in the Yukon Territory, the Alaskan coastal Tlingit may be divided into some 14 to 16 "tribes" (qwan), that form three geographical divisions. The southern group comprises the Tlingit of Sanya (Cape Fox), Tongass Stikine (Wrangell), Henya (and Klawak), Kuiu, and Kake. The northern include the Sumdum, Taku, Auk, Chilkat-Chilkoot, Angoon (Xutsnuwu), Sitka, and Hoona. On the Gulf Coast of Alaska there were once the communities of Dry Bay, Yakutat, Katliakh-Yakatega, and

Controller Bay; their descendants are now concentrated at Yakutat. These "tribes" were not political units, but rather local groups, each with one or more towns (unusually several winter villages), in which were established sibs (na) of the two moieties. According to Swanton (1908:399), Sumdum had only one established Wolf sib, which may mean that this was not a separate tribe, but only a Taku settlement. Swanton counted about 24 Raven sibs, of which 11 are found only among the southern Tlingit, 10 among the northern, with two important additional sibs in both divisions. Of 21 Wolf sibs, there are 13 among the southern tribes, 5 among the northern, and 3 additional Wolf sibs among both. In addition, one sib, the NexA̲̲di of Sanya, stands apart from both moieties, in that its members can intermarry with both, although they claim Eagle crests like those of the Wolf sibs. According to Olson (1967:33-34) the NexA̲̲di are, in origin, Tsimshian, deny being either Wolf or Raven, and call themselves Eagle. On the Gulf Coast of Alaska, not counting now extinct autochthonous groups considered as sibs, there are 3 Raven sibs, only one of which is restricted to the region, the other two being shared with the northern Tlingit of southeastern Alaska. Of the four Wolf sibs, only one is peculiar to the area.

With some exceptions, sibs are named for localities, either places claimed as their original homes or associated with the migrations of their ancestors. Most sibs are restricted to one tribe, but some larger ones have several branches in several areas. Some of the smaller, localized sibs consider themselves to be branches of the more famous ones. Sibs are, in turn, subdivided into lineages or "houses" (hl̲̲t). Sometimes a house has become so powerful and numerous that it has established "daughter houses" in the town, or even has become an independent sib. Some former houses are even represented in several tribes (cf., Kagwantan, ''People of the Burned Down House").

Sibs, especially the branches established in particular tribes, are the effective social groups. They function as independent political units, in matters of feuds or lawsuits, or in war and peace-making. They also have territorial rights to hunting, fishing, and berrying grounds, which they defend against trespassers. They are, moreover, the units involved in potlatching, although all persons who happen to be present are involved to some extent according to their moiety affiliations. Each major potlatch is given by a single sib in the town, assisted by fellow sibmates from other towns if they can come; local sibs of the same moiety as the principal hosts may also entertain the guests at subsidiary parties. The invited guests always consist of two groups at a big potlatch: a local sib of the opposite moiety, and a sib of the opposite moiety from another tribe. Spouses of guests affiliate themselves with the hosts and hostesses.

The members of the two moieties all make use to some extent of the Raven and Wolf as crests. Individual sibs have their own crests, as do lineages or houses. Claims to the same crest by two groups may be considered as proof of close relationship, i.e., descent from common ancestors; or it may be a cause for bitter feuds. Crests can be alienated through gift, or seizure in war, and perhaps for these reasons a few are found in both moieties. A powerful sib, like the Raven Ganaẋ̲tedi of Chilkat, have apparently appropriated crests even from Wolf sibs. Crests are expressed in the form of personal names, house names, house screens or houseposts, canoes, hats (headdresses and helmets), blankets, song leader's poles, drums, feast dishes, pipes, potlatch cries, grave monuments, and petroglyphs. The

most precious mourning songs of the sib often refer to the crest. Most crests are animals, birds, fish (including their dens, nests, spawning places, fins, bones, and so forth), celestial bodies, and features of the landscape (particular rocks, mountains, streams, etc.). It should be noted that most house names refer to crests; others are descriptive only of its construction or location: Sidewise House, Big House, House in the Middle of the Town, Fort House, etc. I am uncertain whether these names should also be classed with crests.

According to Swanton (1908:407),

> The Tlingit quite uniformly trace the origin of nearly all their clans to the Tsimshian coast 'below Port Simpson'; that is, to the neighborhood of the mouth of the Skeena river. It is said by some that nearly all of the present clans immigrated in this manner, and that most of the 'old Alaskans,' those whom they found in possession, have died out....[Swanton's chief informant at Wrangell mentioned some of these groups by name.] The only point that may have significance is the fact that nearly all so enumerated were of the Raven clan."

Olson (1967:24) denies such a uniformly Tsimshian origin. Swanton goes on to point out that of the 25 clans he listed, many are nothing more than subdivisions of the larger, older ones, and that only 14 are at all prominent. The sibs in the southernmost towns, Tongass and Sanya, are included in this list: the Wolf Teqwedi and Daqɬawedi, and the Raven Ga̱naxᵘ̲Adi and Ki̱ksᵘ̲Adi. The Teqwedi and Ga̱naxᵘ̲Adi were apparently forced northward by the movement of Haida Kaigani into Prince of Wales Island, and their northernmost branches are found today at Chilkat and Yakutat. As for the peculiar Nexᵘ̲Adi Eagles of Sanya, who marry with both moieties, they also claim to have come from "below Port Simpson." While Olson (1967:24) accepts them and the Wolf Nastedi sib as "almost certainly Tsimshian in origin," Swanton hazards about the Nexᵘ̲Adi:

> ...on the other hand it is possible that their origin is connected with an Athapascan tribe, which formerly occupied the shores of Behm canal and just northward and intermarried with the Tlingit to a considerable extent in ancient times. The remnants of these Athapascans are now living in Kincolith among the Nass Indians (Swanton 1908:409).

Does he refer to the Tsetsaut, or to a group like them?

The Raven Ki̱ksᵘ̲Adi also moved northward from Sanya and the Stikine to Sitka. The Cᵘ̲Ankuqedi, of whom the Dᵘ̲Aqestina or Taqestina are said to be a branch, also came from the south where they are still represented. One group went to Chilkat, and thence to the interior and down the Alsek River to the Gulf Coast at Dry Bay, intermarrying with the Raven ŁukʷaxᵘAdi (Tłukʷaxᵘ̲Adi, "Quick People") who were Athapaskans. Both of these last sibs are, or were until recently, represented in the Yakutat-Dry Bay area.

Other important sibs apparently came down the Nass, Stikine, and Taku from the interior to the coast. These were the Wolf Y̲E̲nyedi (''Mainland'' or ''Hemlock People'') of Taku, who are considered to be the ancestors of the Daqɬawedi and Wuckitan. The Daqɬawedi, especially associated with the Killerwhale crest, have branches in both northern and southern divisions; the Wuckitan (''People of the House Over All'') are found only in the north, their original home being at Grouse Fort (a site in Hoonah territory), where the important Wolf sib, Kagwantan, also lived. Although these last two sibs are restricted to the north, they are there established in several tribes, and one branch of the Kagwantan was even represented at Dry Bay. The Nanu̲A'au̲i, a very strong Wolf sib at Taku, may also at one time have formed one group with the Y̲E̲nyedi.

In addition to these movements from the south and from the interior into Tlingit territory, we also have evidence of Tlingit movements northwestward into the Athapaskan area at Dry Bay, and still farther along the Gulf Coast to Yakutat. Here, the older Eyak-speaking sibs, the Raven Staxu̲A̲di and the Wolf Łuxedi or Tłaxayik-Teqwedi, were displaced or absorbed by the Tlingit invaders. In the Yakutat area there were also the Wolf Ga̲łyIx̲-Kagwantan (''Kagwantan of Katliakh'') who were originally Eyak-speakers. The fact that this sib, like the now extinct Eyak-speaking Tlaxayik-Teqwedi (''Teqwedi of Yakutat Bay''), have local designations affixed to the names of distinguished Tlingit sibs suggests that they were fitted into the Tlingit system, or named by the Tlingit, only after the latter came to Yakutat -- perhaps in the early 18th century(?). The Yakutat people also received a group of Atna who emigrated from the lower Copper River country near Chitina, via the Tana River and an overland route across Bering Glacier to the coast. They are now the Raven K^{w}ack'qwan, named for the Humpback Salmon (k^{w}ack in Eyak) Stream in Yakutat Bay which they purchased. Although the ending of their name, -qwan, suggests that of a tribe, they are the most important Raven sib in the region. It should, however, be noted that there is some suggestion of endogamy attached to the story of their migration, either contemplated as necessary for their survival, or actually practiced.

The general impression one receives of coastal Tlingit history, as far as one can reconstruct it from their legends, is of constant movement, presumably of small groups, who split off from older houses or sibs to found new homes, or who amalgamated with other small local groups. Here, even more than among the Tsimshian and Haida, one sees that it is impossible to treat the sib-moiety system as a static structure, for the groups are in constant flux. Some branches like the Raven 'Anx̲'akhIttan (''People of the House in the Middle of the Village'') of Angoon, for example, claim to be descended from an Angoon Decitan woman who married a Haida, and therefore have some Haida ancestry. The Decitan themselves claim to be a branch of the mighty Ga̲naxu̲A̲di. There is no question but that there have been many Athapaskan increments to the Tlingit, as well as return movements up the rivers into the interior. Some Tlingit groups may also have had Tsimshian origins, although the great admiration of the Tlingit for all things Tsimshian, especially shamanism and art, might make them claim Tsimshian connections when it was not justified.

In order to understand the history and nature of Tlingit social groups, it would be desirable to list all crests according to tribe and sib, which is obviously impossible, both for lack of space and because our knowledge is incomplete, even though much specific data of this kind have already been published by

Swanton (1908) and Olson (1967) for the Tlingit of southeastern Alaska. This can only be summarized below. Since the information for Yakutat crests is still unpublished, though fairly full, it is given as an example:

Raven moiety

1. TɬU̲knax̣Adi ("Coho Salmon People") have: Raven (yeł), Crane (duł), Whale (yay̲), Sea Lion (tan), Coho Salmon (tɬuk), Frog (xixtc̓), Devilfish (naq^{w}), Sleep (ta, a bird), Mount Fairweather (Tsałx̣an), Ocean and Breakers; Boulder (’ic) and Sidewise (tładen) are house names, possibly crests.

2. K^{w}ack'q^{w}an: Raven, Owl (tisk’^{w}), Crow (ts̓A̲x^{w}eł), Seagull (ketłA̲di), Crane (disputed with the first sib), Humpback Salmon (k^{w}ack̓) including the stream of the same name, Mount Saint Elias (Was̓e-ta-ca), Copper River (i̓q hini, their original home), Fort (nu, as house name).

3. ŁukwaxA̲di of Dry Bay: Raven, Canoe-Prow House (named for a container of animals dragged ashore by Raven), Gateway Knob (k'itc'a) on the Alsek River.

Wolf moiety

1. a) Teqwedi (Bear House Line): Grizzly Bear (xuts), Killerwhale (kit), Mud Shark (tus̓), Eagle (tc̓ak̓), Petrel (g̣anuk), Murrelet (tc̓it), and probably Green Paint Stone (nex̣in tE̲).

   b) Teqwedi (Drum House Line): Golden Eagle (gI̲djuk, a bird identified by Swanton as "fish hawk," and by Olson as the mythical mother of the Thunderbird, but here clearly the eagle of the interior that eats groundhogs), Wolf (g̣utc), Thunderbird (xetl), Ahrnklin River (’antłen, "Big Town of Animals").

   c) Extinct Tłax̣ayik-Teqwedi had Eagle and Bear.

2. Kagwantan (Box House Lineage): Eagle, Wolf, Killerwhale, Halibut (tcatł), and Box House (kuk hI̲t).

3. G̣ałyIx̣-Kagwantan (from Controller Bay and Yakatega): Eagle, Wolf, Beaver (s̓egedi).

4. CA̲nkuqedi of Dry Bay: Wolf, Killerwhale, Thunderbird.

The individual Tlingit sibs probably had fewer crests than did their Haida counterparts. When several sibs have the same crest (Raven, Wolf, Killerwhale, etc.) there is a tendency for each to display it in a distinctive way or in a distinctive form. This may lead to subdivisions of a crest (Raven's Nest, Raven's Bones), or to special oratorical allusions to it (rock associated with Petrel). For example the Raven

Decitan at Angoon refer in potlatch oratory to the Halibut Rock of Raven (McClellan 1954:89) and Wolves at Sitka to Killer Whale's Fin Stream near Sitka. Raven guests at a potlatch may refer to such a stream in derision, to be ''punished" with too much food by their potlatch hosts, who finally pay them extra for their enforced gluttony (Olson 1967:38, 56).

In the list of crests given below, queries refer to house names which may not be true crests. The tribes where each is represented are given, but not the sibs or houses. An asterisk (*) indicates crests claimed in both moieties.

Raven moiety

Raven (almost universal), Raven-at-head-of-Nass (Stikine), Trap for Raven (kata´, Auk), Crow (Yakutat, Chilkat), Eagle* Cane (Stikine, from Haida), Eagle* Hat and Eagle* Post (Cow House People of Tongass, from NexA̲̲di), Golden Eagle* ("Fish Hawk" Angoon?, ''Mother of Thunderbird" Tongass), Swan (Sitka, Hoonah), Goose (Chilkat, Sitka, Hoona), Crane (Yakutat), Owl (Yakutat, Chilkat, Sitka), Seagull (Yakutat), Petrel* Hat (Sitka), Puffin (Kuiu), Flicker*(Angoon?), Black Bear and Brown Bear* (KI̲ksA̲̲di of Wrangell), Raven on a Bear* (Ḡanaẋtedi of Chilkat and Tongass), Cow or Buffalo (ẋas, Hoonah, Sitka, Tongass, as house name), Mouse Hat (Sitka), Marten (Henya), Weasel Hat (Hoonah), Land Otter (Chilkat, Chilkoot, Kake), Beaver* (Angoon), Whale (Yakutat, Chilkat, Sitka, Hoonah, Henya, Tongass), Raven on a Killer Whale* (Ḡanaẋtedi of Chilkat), Sea Lion (Yakutat, Sitka, Stikine, Tongass), Humpback Salmon (Yakutat), Coho Salmon (Yakutat, Hoonah, Sitka), Dog Salmon (Angoon, Auk, Tongass), Old Salmon (Kake), Salmon Hole (´icka, Taku, Klawak), Salmon Nest (yE̲̲nxun, Angoon), Large Halibut (nałx "riches," Stikine), Herring (Sitka), Sculpin (Sanya), Devilfish (Yakutat, Hoonah), Starfish (Tongass), Giant Clam* (used by Ḡanaẋtedi of Chilkat), Slug or Snail (taẋ̣, Hoonah), Frog (Yakutat, Sitka, Chilkat, Stikine Tongass), Woodworm (Chilkat, Henya), Sleep Bird (Yakutat, Sitka), Sun* (Sitka, Stikine -- note that Children-of-the-Sun are spirits of Wolf shamans at Yakutat; although the CA̲̲nkuqedi of Chilkat-Chilkoot claim the Sun and the House Lowered by the Sun), Moon (Yakutat), Big Dipper (Auk), Falling Star?" (Kuiu), Boulder?* (Yakutat), Copper? (Sitka), Clay? (Sitka), Steel? (Sitka, Angoon), Fort?* (Yakutat, Tongass), Green Paint Hat (Stikine), Young Tree, Shelter of Tree? (Angoon), Bark House (Henya), Rush House (Stikine), Box and/or Pit House* (Angoon), House Pulled Ashore by Raven (Dry Bay, Tongass), Ready to Lift House (Hoonah), Eye or Looking Out House (Chilkat), Mother-Basket (Chilkat), Ocean and Breakers (Yakutat; as man, Hoonah), Humpback Salmon Stream (Yakutat), Small streams (K!ak and Tsak, Chilkat), Waterfall south of Dry Bay (Hoonah), Indian River (Sitka), Basket Bay (Angoon), Clear Spring?* (Angoon), Mt. St. Elias (Yakutat), Mt. Fairweather (Yakutat, Hoonah), Gateway Knob (Dry Bay), Ge´ẋtluk Mt. (Chilkat), mountains (Chilkoot, Hoonah), Mt. back of Tałq^{o} (Stikine), Valley?* (Chilkat), Monster slain by Łqayak^{w*} (rocks in Tałq^{o} Bay, Stikine), Whale's Blowhole (rocks near Cape Fox, Sanya), Blackskin Hero (Chilkat). And, no doubt, other landmarks and mythical heroes.

Wolf moiety

Eagle (Yakutat, Sitka, Chilkat, Chilkoot, Angoon, and NexA̲̲di of Sanya), Golden Eagle* (Yakutat), Murrelet (Yakutat, Chilkat, Sitka, Angoon, Kuiu), Petrel (Yakutat; rock associated with Petrel at Kuiu), Flicker* (Tongass, Kuiu), Wolf (Yakutat, Chilkat, Sitka, Taku, Stikine, Tongass), Brown or Grizzly Bear

(Yakutat, Hoonah, Chilkat, Sitka, Auk, Angoon, Henya, Tongass, Sanya), White Grizzly Bear (Stikine), Moose (tsisḵ, Henya), Mountain Goat Hat (Stikine), Marmot Hat (Stikine), Beaver* (Yakutat, and NexA̲di of Sanya), Killer Whale (Yakutat, Chilkat, Auk, Angoon, Sitka, Stikine, Tongass, Sanya), Whale-like killer-whale (Sumdum), Porpoise (Hoonah, Sitka), Mud Shark (tus̓, Yakutat, Chilkat, Hoonah, Sitka, Auk, Angoon), Shark (q̓A̲tgu, Stikine), Dogfish (Tongass, Stikine), Halibut (tcatɬ, Sitka, Taku, and NexA̲di of Sanya), Shell of Monster Clam* (yet) and Crab (yic) (NexA̲di of Sanya), Butterfly (Chilkat), Thunderbird (Yakutat, Chilkat, Auk, Tongass), Sun* and House Lowered by the Sun (Chilkat-Chilkoot), Falling Star?* (Sitka), Boulder?* (Sitka), Steel? (Angoon, Stikine), Drift Iron? (Sitka), Iron? (Hoonah), Cannon? (Stikine), Fort?* (Angoon), Red Paint? (Stikine), Yellow Cedar? (Kake), Green Spruce? (Chilkat), Box House* (Yakutat, Sitka, Chilkat, Auk, Stikine), Drum? (Yakutat, Chilkat), Burned Down House (Hoonah, Chilkat), Foam (xetl, Stikine), Ahrnklin River (Yakutat), Killer Whale's Fin Stream (Sitka), Clear Spring?* (Sitka), Downstream? (Chilkat), Trail Upriver? (Chilkat), Ice, Glacier, Iceberg (Chilkat, Sumdum, Sitka), Cliff? (Stikine), Cliff-Edge? (Sitka), Sand Bluff? (Chilkat), Mt. near Taku (Taku), Mt. Sekutle´h (Stikine), "Gasko" Island (Tongass), Valley* (as bear's home, Tongass), Hero Łqayak̓^{w}* (Yakutat), Hero Kats̓ (Sitka, Tongass, NexA̲di of Sanya), G̣onaqadet (wealth-bringing water monster, Auk, Henya), and other landmarks and heroes.

These lists show the tendency to assign almost all classes of living creatures as well as cosmic phenomena to one moiety or the other. There seems to be some confusion in the case of Land Otters who are divided into Ravens and Wolves, just like the human beings they rescue or capture, according to Olson (1967:121), but aside from this, the system is remarkably consistent and inclusive. Even when certain crests, associated with one moiety in the north, may be claimed by sibs in the opposite moiety in the south, this seems to cause little confusion, for the groups are too distant to meet. It is only when a local sib appropriates the crest of another, for example, as blood payment, that the original owners make every effort to buy it back.

Eyak

The Eyak lived once in small settlements all along the Gulf Coast of Alaska from the edge of Prince William Sound in the west to the boundary of the Athapaskan country at Dry Bay (Birket-Smith and de Laguna 1938; de Laguna 1972). Tlingit from southeastern Alaska, chiefly from Chilkat, Hoonah, and Sitka, were pushing northwestward during the 18th and early 19th centuries, some coming by boat along the coast, others crossing by an interior route up the Chilkat Pass and down the Alsek River to Dry Bay. In this way, Tlingit sibs were introduced into Dry Bay and Yakutat Bay, absorbing the older populations into their own kin groups, or in same cases destroying and enslaving them. Tlingit influence was dominant as far west as Controller Bay all during the 19th century, where the population may be considered as Tlingitized Eyak, except for the Chugach Eskimo who frequented the islands in Controller Bay. Eyak remained as the native language only in the westernmost settlements at the mouth of the Copper River.

According to information obtained in 1930 and 1933, the Eyak had two exogamous matrilineal moieties, known as Raven or Crow People (tc̓ilayu) and Eagle People (gutcgalaqyu). It was denied that these were subdivided into sibs. However, informants also spoke about Wolf People (gotciyu) and Bark

House People. These were said to be two groups of Tlingit who had emigrated from the east after a quarrel over the inheritance of a chief's house, or because there were too many people at Katalla in Controller Bay. The Wolf People were adopted by the Ravens -- probably as children or spouses, not as members of their own moiety, as first supposed -- and similarly, the Bark House People were "adopted" by the Eagles, evidently as their "opposites." The adopted groups preserved their identities and crests, such as house or grave posts, potlatch cries, etc. "The Bark House People (qatłyad-dA̲ƛ̓ax-dA̲lag̣Ayu) acquired their name because they were in such a
hurry that they built their house of bark -- the familiar explanation for the name of a Raven sib of the southern Tlingit. These two groups evidently came from Kaliakh River, the home of a 'tribal' group near Cape Yakataga, east of Controller Bay."

According to the Yakutat Tlingit (1949-1954), many of whom are related to the Eyak of Kaliakh, Controller Bay, and the Copper River delta, the latter had true sibs. Thus, when the Atna Ravens -- then called Gineẋqwan or Łta-hin-qwan, "People of Tana River," a tributary of the Copper River -- emigrated from the Copper River country, one group went on to Yakutat to became the K^{w}ackqwan; another group was lost in the fog and went instead to the mouth of the Copper River and settled there. Later, a great Tlingit trader from the Yakutat area married one of their women -- a typical Tlingit ploy to secure gift-giving brothers-in-law among the Athapaskans -- and named her brothers "Ga̲naẋtedi," after the famous Chilkat sib. Another sib in the Raven moiety among the Eyak was called Quskʼedi or Koskedi, with the same name as a former sib in Dry Bay which was also presumably Athapaskan in origin. There were also said to be "ŁukwaẋAdi" among the Eyak, like the Athapaskan Raven sib at Dry Bay.

The Yakutat people, however, mentioned only one Eagle sib among the Eyak. This was the Tcicqedi, especially associated with Katalla at the edge of Controller Bay. These people are said to have been a branch of the Ga̲łyal̲ẋ-Kagwantan, who followed the latter to Katliakh "after the Flood." Finding the best lands already occupied, they were forced to camp on swampy ground, until given territory by their "fathers," the Raven "Ga̲naẋtedi." Another story also associated the Tcicqedi closely with the Ga̲łyal̲ẋ-Kagwantan and with the original Beaver House and Beaver crest, obtained on Bering River, above Controller Bay. There seem to have been disputes between them over the right to use the Beaver crest. The Tcicqedi had an Eagle House at Katalla.

It should be noted that the name for this sib, Tcic-qedi, is analogous to that of the "Red Paint People" (tcic-yu), a widely distributed sib among the western Athapaskans, and one which is definitely in a moiety opposite to that of the Crows among the Atna.

Peoples Influenced by the Tlingit

The interior groups among whom Tlingit influence can either be seen clearly or suspected are the Tahltan, Kaska, and Tutchone. With these should be grouped the Inland Tlingit, who live like Athapaskans, and the adjacent Tagish, who seem recently to have abandoned their ancient

Athapaskan tongue for Tlingit. I am indebted to McClellan for pages from her work in press, dealing with the Inland Tlingit, Tagish, and Tutchone.

Tahltan

The Tahltan are Athapaskans living on the headwaters of the Stikine, and disputing the headwaters of the Nass with the Tsimshian Niska (Emmons 1911). They also hunt on the southern branches of the Taku, and have taken the lower half of Dease Lake from the Kaska. On the other hand, they seem to be dominated by their trade partners, the Stikine Tlingit.

Emmons thinks that the Tahltan were originally "patriarchal," but with a loose organization, and that their matrilineal moieties were borrowed from the coast. These are, however, called by Athapaskan names: Cheskea da, "One Family Raven," and Cheona da, "One Family Wolf." I believe that the English forms given by Emmons are not translations of the Athapaskan names, but rather represent the equivalences made with Tlingit moieties. The term equated with 'wolf," for example, resembles the name for a species of seagull (tc̓ią) which is applied to that moiety among the Upper Tanana or Nabesna Indians which they equate with the Tutchone Wolf moiety. Most Tahltan sibs are designated by Tlingit sib names. In addition to the moiety crests, the sibs had crests of their own, to which they might give precedence.

Emmons gives the names of the sibs as:

<u>Raven moiety</u>

Only one sib, "Karth-ottee family," i.e., Qa´tc<u>A̲</u>di.

<u>Wolf moiety</u>

1. "Tuck-clar-way-tee family," i.e., Daqɬawedi
2. ''Tal-ar-ko-tin family," Tal<u>A̲</u>-kotin?, Athapaskan
3. "Nan-yi-ee family," i.e., Nan<u>y̲</u>A’a<u>y̲</u>i

The Raven sib and the two Wolf sibs are all represented among the Stikine Tlingit.

According to Tahltan traditions, the Daqɬawedi were the progenitors of the Tahltan, who came from the headwaters of the Nass "after the Flood," one group going to the lakes at the head of the Yukon. Later, two women, one from Tagish Lake, the other from the Nass, met near the mouth of the Tahltan River and decided to call each other sisters. They were the ancestresses of the Daqɬawedi, "Black Sand People." The Tlingit members of the sib, according to Emmons, translate the name as "People from the Interior as Numerous as Grains of Sand." The Tagish woman had a copper staff with which she

marked their village. This story has a definitely Athapaskan flavor. Later their descendants multiplied, and quarreled, one group going down the Stikine, under the ice, to settle at Tongass, Angoon, and Chilkat. At the last locality, they do not have a very high position because of their interior origin and their frequent marriages with adjacent Athapaskans. The sib uses Wolf, Brown (or Grizzly) Bear, Eagle, and Killerwhale as crests.

The Raven QatcA̲̲di were the second sib to reach Tahltan country; some came from the interior, others from the coast. According to one version, their name refers to a stream on Admiralty Island in northern Tlingit territory; according to others, it means "bark" of which their houses were once built. Originally their home was on the headwaters of the Taku, where presumably they met the Daqɬawedi. A snow slide frightened some of them away. These went down the Stikine and over to Admiralty Island where they acquired their sib name. Later they joined the Tlingit at Kake. After a quarrel , some of them went back up the Stikine and returned to the interior. The Tlingit QatcA̲̲di claim that the interior members of the sib are descended from a runaway slave woman. Another story tells of the abduction of the QatcA̲̲di wife of a Nany.A'ay.i chief by a Daqɬawedi Tahltan chief. The QatcA̲̲di use the Raven and Frog as crests.

The Wolf TalA̲̲kotin are of interior origin, descended from a girl of the Liard or Peace River who was married by a QatcA̲̲di man. The name is supposed to refer to "tahlar" (taɬA̲̲?), a rocky point between two rivers. The people are also called "Karkarkwan," (which certainly has the Tlingit ending, -qwan, designating a local tribe), variously translated as "Point, Canyon, or Rabbit People" (g̣ax̣-kA̲̲-qwan?). They use the Wolf as their crest.

The last addition is the Nany.A̲̲'ay.i sib, composed of individuals who drifted in from the Stikine and the Taku. They had apparently originated in the interior, and went down the Taku to the coast, where they separated into two groups, one designated as "People of NanyA̲̲," a camping place. These people intermarried with the Tlingit on the lower Stikine and became the most powerful sib in that area. When they ascended the river for salmon, they met the Tahltan, whom they married to secure advantages in trading. Other members of the sib are found on the Taku. They use the Wolf as crest, and apparently took over the Brown (Grizzly) Bear, Shark, and Killer Whale from their relatives on the coast, according to Emmons.

Tahltan traditions, as a whole, suggest an original home in the interior, with some small groups going to the coast to intermarry with the Tlingit. Then individuals straggled back up the rivers, bringing the social organization, i.e., specific sib names and crests, and ceremonials of the coast. However, the Athapaskan names assigned to the moieties strongly suggest to me that these antedated Tlingit influence. It is also a typically Athapaskan pattern, as we shall see, to designate strangers from the east as ''Wolves," which accounts for the position of the TalA̲̲kotin.

Olson (1967:4) reports from a Tlingit informant at Wrangell that the Tahltan had the following clans: ''Nanyaayih (Wolf), Daklawedih (Wolf), K!akȧkwa´n (Wolf), Katca´dih (Raven), Tlkahittan (Raven)." The last was a subdivision of the Katca´dih (QatcA̲̲di), who lived in the same house with the latter, but had

to move out because they were such inveterate gamblers. They built a house of their own and became known as "Gambling House People." The K!akȧkwa´n (X̱akA̲-qwan?) or "On the Point People," Olson reports as the same as the Daqɬawedi, but are evidently the same as Emmons' TalA̲kotin or "Karkarkwan." Olson also explains the presence in the interior of the QatcA̲di as due to the abduction, not of the wife of a Nany.A'ay.i chief, but of his daughter.

Information gathered by Teit (1912, quoted by Honigmann [1954:87, note 19]) suggests that the Tahltan had a more elaborate organization than that described by Emmons. Thus, Teit reports that they were divided into exogamous moieties, Raven and Wolf, the former being the more important and said to represent the original Tahltan people. Each of these was made up of three sibs, each with their own sib chief and hunting territories. These six chiefs were supposed to form the "governing body of the tribe." The sibs lacked crests and had no traditions of descent from mythological ancestors, whereas it was the moieties that had crests or totems. About 150 (now 200) years ago, a seventh sib, belonging to the Wolf moiety, was introduced through intermarriage with the Tlingit. It is called by its Tlingit name, but lacks recognized territory and a chief. There is an aristocracy of rank and wealth, and a system of potlatching like that of the Tlingit. These observations, if correct, must apply to only one group of Tahltan.

Inland Tlingit

The Inland Tlingit of Lakes Atlin and Teslin and the headwaters of the Taku, as well as the closely related Tagish farther west, intrude like a wedge between the Tahltan and Kaska on the east and the Southern Tutchone on the west and northwest (McClellan 1953 and in press). Both Inland Tlingit and Tagish display a sib-moiety-crest system patterned after that of the coastal Tlingit. Their moieties are Wolf (ġotc) and Crow (yeł), called by the Tlingit names for wolf and raven. The Wolf moiety may also be called by the Athapaskan name, TcA̲yonE̲ (cf. Tahltan and Upper Tanana). These moieties function as "opposites" in marriage, and in ceremonies centering around life crises, such as birth, puberty, death, in potlatching, feasting, peace-making, etc. The moieties are further subdivided into sibs.

The histories of these groups are complex, involving interior peoples who remained in the interior, interior peoples who moved down the Taku and Stikine, and return movements from the coast, usually after intermarriage with the Tlingit. McClellan notes that claims to personal names and house names by the interior groups may result from the effort of an interior sib to equate itself with one on the coast, and that this may not necessarily mean a relationship. The moieties and sibs are:

<u>Wolf moiety</u>

YE̲nyedi, ''White Cedar People,'' divided into:

(A) Old YE̲nyedi of Taku and Teslin (Nesutlin River)

(B) New YE̲nyedi of Atlin River, and later of Teslin

(C) Atlin YE̲nyedi

Although some YE̲nyedi of Atlin and Teslin call themselves "CA̲nkuqedi" they do not form a separate group.

Crow moiety

1. Decitan, "People of the House at the end of the [Beaver] Trail," of Teslin

2. Koq^{w}hl̲tan, "Pit House People," of Teslin

3. ’Ickitan, "Salmon Hole House People," of Atlin and Teslin

4. ’Anduguhl̲tan, "Skin House People," of Atlin and Teslin

5. Tłayinedi or Ga̱naxa̱Adi married into Teslin and Atlin, from Ketchikan via Angoon; also a few Tłukwaxa̱Adi, “Quick People”, Titɬhl̲tan, “Dog Salmon House People,” and TɬUknaxa̱Adi, “Coho Salmon People” from the coast.

The YE̲nyedi derive their name from a house built on the upper Taku. They were originally known as Gravel Fort People (xa̱Aqˀnuwu). Later they built Hemlock House (yE̲n hl̲t), but those who stayed behind kept their old name. The Old YE̲nyedi once owned all of Taku River, and claimed a rock (qA̲tanA̲qˀ house) at the mouth as a crest. They may have been pushed back up the river by the expanding Tlingit. They crossed the divide to settle on Nisutlin River in Teslin country. Calling themselves the "real Wolves," they claim the Wolf (a stuffed wolf pelt) as a crest, as well as the Killer Whale, for which they are sometimes called "Daqɬawedi" although the Tagish dispute their right to the latter.

The branch termed New YE̲nyedi claim that their ancestors were Tlingit who had married into the upper Taku with the Tahltan QatcA̲di. The latter are equated with the Decitan of the Inland Tlingit and the Tuq'uedi of the Tagish. The New YE̲nyedi built Big House (hl̲t tłen) on the Taku; after a quarrel, some went down the Stikine where they called themselves TɬE̲ntan, "Big [House] People," and adopted the Groundhog Shirt as a crest. While still living on the Stikine, they built Hemlock House, also claimed by the Old YE̲nyedi. Some of the Big House YE̲nyedi went down the Stikine and over to Chilkat. Later, some of those who remained on the upper Taku moved down to Taku Harbor and built Shark House, Steel House, Big House, and In-Between House (yE̲yuwa hl̲t). About the end of the last century, the New YE̲nyedi moved to Teslin and Atlin, where they claim the Golden Eagle (or "Fish Hawk," gl̲djuk) and Eagle (tcˀakˀ) as crests. The right to the Wolf is disputed by the Old YE̲nyedi. Note that the Groundhog crest which was used by the Big House YE̲nyedi on the Taku is associated by the Tlingit as the prey of the Golden Eagle.

The Atlin YE̲nyedi seem to represent a group who came from the Taku beginning at the end of the last century.

Some Inland Tlingit YE̲nyedi call themselves "CA̲nkuqedi," and sometimes claim to be related to members of that sib among the Southern Tutchone. At least they share with the latter several names, including that of SʼA̲nqwE̲tʼ, the hero who found the Tahltan in 1825-1850(?).

The Raven Decitan claim relationship to the Tlingit sib of that name at Angoon, from which they derive their Beaver crest (Beaver House). They are equated with the Tuq̓wedi among the Tagish. In addition, they have a shirt with a special eight-limbed Beaver, an animal seen by their ancestors near Dawson Peaks.

The closely related Pit House People (Koq^{w}hɬ̲tan or Kuq^{w}hɬ̲tan) tell two stories about their origin. According to one, they originated in the interior but descended the Taku River to the vicinity of Sumdum Glacier, but returned after a fight to Nakina. Here they set up a grave post with Two Heads, a crest now used by this sib at Teslin, as well as the Salmon. According to the other story, they were originally a branch of the Ga̱naxA̲di of Angoon, who built the original Pit House for defence. At Angoon, the ancient house of this name is ascribed to the Decitan, a branch of the Ga̱naxA̲di, or even more properly to the ʼAnx̱akhɬ̲ttan, a subdivision of the Decitan. Apparently a Pit House was built 70 years ago near the head of Taku River. In addition to Two Heads and Salmon, this sib also uses the Big Dipper as a crest.

The Skin House People (ʼandugu hɬ̲tan) of Atlin are closely related to the Teslin Pit House People, because their ancestors also built a Pit House on the Taku, but finished it off with a skin roof. They may actually be an interior lineage who became amalgamated with the Raven sib from the coast. McClellan notes the tradition recorded by Emmons that the Kosḵedi (or X̱asḵedi?) were people from "Buffalo River," a tributary of the Pelly, who moved to Alaska and roofed their house with a cowhide obtained from the Russians. It is quite possible that the origin of the name is older and refers to a woodland bison cow; in any case, it suggests an interior origin for the group. On the other hand, Olson (1967:44) states that "xas" is the Chinook Jargon word for "cow." At Atlin, this sib has a "Crow" House, yeł hɬ̲t, using the Tlingit word for raven.

The Salmon Hole People (ʼIcḵ̓itan) of Atlin are sometimes lumped with the Teslin Pit House People, for both use the shirt with Two Heads. The ʼIcḵ̓itan also claim the Frog and Crow. They would appear to have been derived from the ʼckahɬ̲t of the Tlingit Ga̱naxA̲di of Taku, yet the few ʼIcḵ̓itan members at Teslin claim that they came from the Pit House People of Angoon, who were formerly called ʼIcḵ̓itan. The interior members of the sib have no named houses of their own, but claim the following houses on the coast: Drift Log House (cf. Salmon Nest or Log Jam House of the Angoon ʼAnx̱akhɬ̲ttan), Raven House, Raven's Bones House (cf. Angoon Decitan), and Eight Log House.

Tagish

The Tagish are originally an Athapaskan-speaking group who have adopted Tlingit as their language (McClellan in press). Their sib traditions link them with the Chilkat-Chilkoot and, via the Inland Tlingit, with the Tlingit of Taku, Auk, and Sumdum, and also with the Tahltan. They are divided into two

moieties, Wolf and Crow, called by the Tlingit names. Each is represented by only one sib, except for those of persons who have married in but are not yet established.

The Wolf sib is the Daqɬawedi, who came from Telegraph Creek on the upper Taku, after the original ancestral group had split. One division went to the coast, acquiring the name "Back of Sand Beach" (dAx̣ "behind," ɬew "sand") from camping by a sandy beach near Wrangell. Another group went overland to the Pelly and Big Salmon rivers, while the Tagish went to the headwaters of the Yukon. The Tagish claim that their original crest was the Wolf (of Tahltan origin?). Later, according to Emmons, they obtained the Brown (Grizzly) Bear, Eagle, and Killer Whale. Everywhere they went, in the interior and on the coast, they built the Killer Whale House, although the inland Tagish have never seen this sea mammal. The Killer Whale House at Tagish is also known as Wolf House. Tlingit houses also often have two names. The Daqɬawedi and the Y̲E̲̲nyedi seem to be branches of the same interior people who descended the Stikine and the Taku to the coast, although the Tagish Daqɬawedi now feel themselves quite distinct from the Y̲E̲nyedi of the Inland Tlingit.

The Tagish Crow sib is the Tuq'wedi, supposedly a branch of the Angoon Decitan and related to the Teslin Decitan, as well as to Raven Tahltan of Telegraph Creek. They say there were once four noble daughters of an Angoon Decitan woman who went up the Taku River, where they separated. One married a Tahltan man, another a Tagish man, the third an Inland Tlingit man of Teslin -- or else her daughter married into Teslin -- and the last married a Pelly Banks man. The Tagish Tuq'edi claim the Beaver as a crest, and have a Warm House (x̲'ai^{n} h̲l̲t, probably "Bath House," like the Wolf Bath House at Yakutat, associated with the Beaver), and also an End of the Trail House (decu h̲l̲t). The sib name seems to refer to the designation of a house, Tuq^{w}a or Tuqk^{w} h̲l̲t (High or Box House?), of the Angoon Decitan.

Tutchone

While both the Northern Tutchone of the Fort Selkirk area and the Southern Tutchone near the headwaters of the Alsek River almost to the Alaskan border have exogamous matrilineal moieties, called Wolf and Crow, only the Southern Tutchone band at Champagne and the sources of the Alsek recognize sibs as important (McClellan, in press). They say that their sib organization came from the coast and was superimposed on their own original moiety system. I would suggest that it was rather the sib names, crests, and titles that they adopted. They recognize themselves as few in numbers, while the coastal Tlingit are so numerous that they can have subdivisions. Farther to the north and west, McClellan found that the Southern Tutchone of Burwash Landing and Aishihik had only hazy ideas about sibs, and would assign the Tlingit sibs of which they had heard to the wrong moiety. This last may not indicate ignorance as much as the fluidity of a system in which the principles of exogamy and duality depend, not primarily on structural stability, but upon the opposition of small units whose alignment may shift from district to district. At Snag there are said to be confusions in marriages, easily accounted for by the movements of different peoples into that area.

The terms for the moieties are:

	Southern Tutchone	Northern Tutchone
Wolf	’agoi (wolf & moiety)	’agunda (moiety only)
	[’agi (wolf), ’agina’ (moiety)]	
Crow	ts̓uk’i (crow & moiety)	kadjit (moiety only)
	[ts̓uki’ (crow), ts̓uki’na’ (moiety)]	

The forms in brackets were recorded at Klukshu, on the headwaters of the Alsek, where "Raven People" (yeł-’A̲di) was also given as the "Chilkat way" (fieldnotes, McClellan and de Laguna 1954).

At Champagne, the Crow moiety was represented by the G̣anax̣tedi, supposed to have come from the Chilkat-Chilkoot Tlingit. They had a Drum House (gau hI̲t) or Copper House, with a chief named “Master of Copper” (tI̲na s̓A̲ti), who had formerly lived at Nuq^{w}a’ik on the Alsek. His relatives had titles referring to copper. This sib also claimed the Woodworm crest, like their Chilkat relatives. At Champagne there was also said to have been a Mountain Sheep House, according to Tagish and Inland Tlingit informants, but not mentioned at Champagne itself, possibly because the crest had been seized in settlement of a debt. Were these really an Athapaskan group who had allied themselves with the Tlingit G̣anax̣tedi?

In addition, there are a few Decitan married in from the Tagish.

At Champagne, the Wolf moiety is represented by:

1. The CA̲nkukedi, who were either derived from the Chilkat or Alsek River Ca̲nkukedi, or had married in from Teslin. Possibly they were really a branch of the YE̲nyedi, but like the Tlingit CA̲nkukedi, they claim the Thunder(bird) House.
2. The Daqƚawedi, or QE̲tƚE̲mbI̲t (meaning?), feel themselves to be distinct from the first sib. They formerly lived on the Alsek at Nuq^{w}a’ik, and have Butterfly House, like the Daqƚawedi of Chilkat.

Kaska
Honigmann (1954) recognizes five divisions of the Kaska:

1. Upper Liard (Natitu’a´gotena)

2. Dease River (Ki´stagotena)

3. Nelson (Tse´lona)

4. "Goat" or more properly "Mountain Sheep" (Espa´totena)

5. Frances Lake (Tu´tcgotena).

These are Athapaskans living contiguous to the Tahltan, Inland Tlingit, Upper Pelly Indians, and Mackenzie Athapaskans. Most of Honigmann's information was derived from the first two divisions. In general, one can say that all the Kaska had migratory, extended family bands, the headmanship of which depended upon hunting ability, wisdom, and general character. The position might pass to the leader's son, but the group itself was not permanent, since men and their immediate families were free to shift allegiance from an incompetent chief to a better one.

The three western groups of the Upper Liard, Dease River, and Frances Lake were divided into matrilineal moieties, or sides (tsinii), calling themselves Wolves and Crows, respectively, the latter having slightly higher prestige.

There was reciprocity between these divisions in marriage, getting wood, and competing in sports. When they gave a potlatch, the Wolves painted their faces red, and the Crows blue (cf. crest colors among the Stikine Tlingit). The two eastern groups lacked moieties, except that the eastern Kaska spouse of a western Kaska would be assigned to the appropriate opposite division. One man who had come to the Upper Liard from the Espatotena in the east reported that the moieties had been introduced fairly recently by the Tahltan, who simply assigned the Kaska they met to one moiety or the other. This may or may not be correct, for the moiety system of the western Kaska seems similar to that of the Tutchone to the west and of the Pelly River people to the north, so that it may be ancient, even though the Tahltan may have arranged Kaska groups to fit their own.

Pelly River Indians

The Indians on the upper Pelly River (Denniston 1966) now comprise (a) descendants of the original Upper Pelly Indians (Knife Indians) who escaped a massacre by natives from the Mackenzie, and (b) their friends, the western Kaska, or Ti-tsho-ti-na, plus other groups. They speak dialects recognized as (1) Liard way, (2) Pelly way, (3) Fort Norman way (Mountain?), and (4) Ross River way, which may be the language of the original Upper Pelly Indians. Liard way and Pelly way are mere variants of Kaska.

Denniston notes that dialects are transmitted matrilineally, just as are moiety membership and rights to hunting territories. All the people of the Pelly River and vicinity are divided into moieties: Crows and Wolves. However, since Mackenzie Indians who cross to the Yukon area to marry are without moieties, they are always classed as Wolves, and may therefore marry only Crows.

The people of the lower Pelly River appear to speak Tutchone, and are the group known as Wood Indians, or Gens de Bois, sometimes classed as Han.

Summary
It can be seen that as we come to areas where Tlingit influence, if present, is at a minimum, we find only the fundamental division into Crow and Wolf, with sibless strangers who marry in classed as Wolves.

	Moieties	Sibs	Crests
Tahltan	A	T & A	X
Inland Tlingit	T	T	X
Tagish	T	T	X
S. Tutchone of Champagne	A	T	X
Other S. Tutchone	A	?	
N. Tutchone	A		
Kaska	A		colors only
Pelly River	A		

Key: T = Tlingit names
A = Athapaskan names

Is it not possible that the principle of dual division into Wolf and Crow, shared by the Tlingit and these western Canadian Athapaskans, antedated the separation of the coastal and inland Nadéné? In this case, the presence of Wolf groups among the Tsimshian may be ascribed to the absorption of Athapaskans, who were fitted into the local scheme, with the full panoply of names and crests. A similar explanation may apply to the Beaver group, or to the use of Marten, Mountain Sheep, Squirrel, Fireweed, Wild Rice, Waterlily, and other mainland animals and plants as crests, even if these had never previously served as more than designations of crestless local Athapaskan groups.

When we go still farther west among the Atna, Upper Tanana, and Tanaina, we shall find dual organizations and sibs called by Athapaskan names, suggestive of entities which might be, but are not, crests. Still farther away among the Lower Tanana, Kutchin, and Koyukon, some of the same sibs persist, but the dual division is either missing or confused. Among neither the Atna nor the Yukon groups do I detect any important Tlingit influence, and believe that the systems reflect ancient Athapaskan organization. The Atna will be described first, since information on their social organization seems most complete, or is at least most familiar to me.

The Atna Group

Atna
The Atna of the Copper River Valley are divided into ten dialectical communities forming three major sociocultural groups (fieldnotes, de Laguna and McClellan 1954, 1958, 1960; de Laguna and Guédon 1968; personal communications form Michael E. Krauss). The three groups of Atna are: the Lower Atna (Mednovski of the Russians), Middle and Western Atna, and Upper Atna (Tatlatáns of Allen 1887). These groups intermarry with each other and with the Tanaina of Cook Inlet and of the Susitna-

Talkeetna area, with the Middle Tanana Indians (Salcha to Goodpaster) and with the Upper Tanana or Nabesna Indians (Healy Lake, Tanacross-Ketchumstuk, Tetlin, Northway, Chisana, and Scottie Creek). Some grandfathers of Atna individuals are reported to have come from Nenana on the lower Tanana and from the Yukon Kutchin. Despite the fact that the total Atna population was probably never over 600, it is, or was, composed of some eight to ten matrilineal sibs (RA̲lsiłI̲n), originally about five in each moiety (nI̲ł ta´nE̲trä´ni). These are usually identified as those who call the Crow (saR̲ani) and Seagull (nA̲lbei) their respective "grandfathers." While Crow is identified with the Creator-Trickster-Transformer, Seagull is only a minor character in one myth. There are no traditions of descent from these birds, and no explanations as to why they are "opposites." One Lower Atna informant, evidently familiar with Eyak and Tlingit moieties, substituted Eagle for Seagull.

Moieties function primarily in dividing individuals into "opposites" who intermarry, help each other at life crises, particularly at death, and who entertain each other at potlatches. It should be noted, however, that the primary giver of a potlatch would belong to the same side as his guests if the potlatch is for his father, his wife, or his child, since guests are always the "opposites" of the person honored. Cross-cousin marriage, phrased by boy or girl as marriage to a spouse among the father's maternal line, means that in ideal cases close paternal and affinal kin belong to the same matrilineal line. Joking relatives, sweethearts, and partners belong to the father's sib. While the principle of duality or opposition between kin groups is stressed, the sibs are actually more significant as units of social organization than are the moieties.

Population loss in modern times has broken down moiety exogamy, so that there are several cases of marriages between sibs "on the same side." These "new style" unions are deplored, but not condemned as are intra-sib marriages, but they do produce confusions in kin terminology and associated behavior, since affinal relatives and paternal ones are not on the same side, and spouses cannot be "opposites" at potlatches. In other cases, population movements have evidently split what was once a single sib into groups that are now felt to be far enough apart to marry. If enough marriages of this kind take place, then the two groups will ultimately be classed as "opposites," meaning that one branch will have shifted its moiety affiliation. Small scale migrations and marriages to "foreign" women who are brought home by their Atna husbands have evidently been going on for a long time, and modern transportation has simply facilitated the process whereby new sibs may be introduced into the community. Since the villages or bands were small, never numbering over 40 or 5O persons, it is easy to see how old sibs could become extinct, or be so reduced in numbers that the survivors would readily merge with newcomers. Alignments would be made on the basis of local marriages that had already taken place. In any community or band we would therefore expect changes in sib composition over time.

Atna sibs tend to be localized, even though the primary social unit has been traditionally the small winter settlement of one or more multi-family dwellings under a "chief." The food supply was under the control of this chief, "resident" or "rich man" in Atna, since he directed the activities of his fellow villagers, most or many of whom were his fellow clansmen. He also commanded the services of slaves and retainers, and directed trading expeditions or monopolized the exchange of native furs for

European manufactures. He played the major role at potlatches, entertaining guests from other bands, and even from foreign tribes. In turn, the chief was responsible for the well-being of his people, seeing that they were fed, and defending them in cases of disputes with members of other groups. While some men in his village belonged to sibs other than his own, the chief acted for them also. His power seems to have been based both upon his wealth and upon the fact that he contracted marriages with as many sibs as possible, including even his own, and was consequently able to call upon all his ''brothers-in-law'' and his "sons." Succession was not always in the same sib or moiety, since chieftainship depended primarily upon ability and wealth, and we know that sons sometimes succeeded their fathers, yet there seems to have been some sentiment that certain villages, or their chiefs, were or should be associated with certain sibs. It was impossible, however, to find any evidence that hunting territories were controlled by sibs, for they seem to have been open to all residents of the community and any visiting relatives.

It should also be noted that each of the older traditional settlements had its named hill, some nearby landmark that is honored in potlatch songs and oratory as the "grandfather's face" of the village people. This reminds us of the Tlingit landmark crests, though Atna hills belonged to the whole community, not to a sib. Individuals also have a sense of attachment to the places which had been the homes of their maternal "grandmothers." There is also the tendency to think of all the men of a locality as if they belonged to one sib; for strangers, whose affiliations were unknown, this was perhaps natural. One has the impression that in essence Atna sibs were semi-local groups, the ultimate origins of which were theoretically traceable to particular areas. For those that are spread up and down the Copper River valley, or represented also among the Upper Tanana and Cook Inlet peoples, this distribution is explained as due to the movements of individual sib members, women who had married into the different tribes.

While Atna sibs did not possess crests, some stories explain the origins of their names as due to "finding" certain objects that became their distinguishing mark. The association seems usually casual, and there is little or no attempt to dramatize this at potlatches. Moieties might once have been distinguished by the use of crow or seagull feathers in their headdresses, and within the past few years leaders of Atna and Upper Tanana villages have attempted to standardize the colors of their cotton dance costumes according to moiety: black for the Crows, red for the Seagulls. A particular song, rendered by potlatch guests in appreciation of the feast, refers to the gorging by seagulls or crows, as the case may be, but beyond this there is nothing to suggest the exclusively held prerogatives of the Northwest Coast. Heirloom objects, or modern replicas of famous objects, for example a drum, may be exhibited by the hosts at a potlatch and the guests required to respond correctly to riddling oratory about the displayed objects. These, like the "grandfather" hills, belong to the whole village, not to a sib, and like the distinguishing marks in sib origin legends should be regarded as potential crests, not as true crests.

Shamanism tends to be inherited, for the calling may come to any close relative of the deceased shaman who dreams of him performing. Thus, sons or daughters are even more likely than a nephew to receive the dead man's powers, and there is no indication that certain supernaturals are affiliated

with certain sibs, as we find among the Tlingit. Again, as with chieftainship, the position of shaman is attained only through individual achievement, in this case by dreaming of a succession of powerful spirits.

This sketch of Atna social life has been given because it seems to be also characteristic of their neighbors, the Tanaina and the Nabesna or Upper Tanana.

Atna sibs are, or were:

A) Seagull moiety
   1. WU̲dj̲I̲cyu, "Caribou People," in all three Atna divisions

   2. Tcicyu, "Red Paint People," in all Atna divisions

   3. NI̲'tcI̲cyu, "They paint their faces in stripes," or referring to strips (bI̲'tci´s) of cooked caribou meat. This name may be a dialectical variant of the first two, probably of the second, or belong to a separate sib. It is represented now by only three individuals among the Middle and Upper Atna.

   4. KI̲'la'yu, or TcI̲'la'yu, or KI̲'kE̲'lyu, "Salmon Tail People," formerly among the Upper Atna.

   5. DengI̲'gI̲' koxt'änA̲, "Canyonberry People." Probably the same as NI̲'gE̲'kuläA̲', "Canyonberry Place People," or "Cliff Place People." Probably the same as TcUNRaxt'änA̲', "Canyonberry People." These different names may have belonged to local groups that became equated or amalgamated. Formerly among the Middle and Western Atna.

   6. Qwäxyu or Qwakiyu, "Snowbird People." This may be another name for group 5. Extinct among the Atna, it is commonly mentioned by informants who hazard that representatives live among northern or northwestern tribes.

B) Crow moiety
   1. DI̲tsi'I̲ltsina, or GI̲tsi'I̲ltsina, "They came out of Wood Canyon" on the lower Copper River. Now among the Lower Atna only; formerly also among the Middle Atna.

   2. NA̲ltsina, short for naR̲altsina, "They came down [from the Sky]." Represented throughout Atna territory. Their name is sometimes used as a moiety designation.

   3. Dik'agiyu, or Dix'agiyu, or Dix'agi, "Fireweed Cotton People." Among the Lower Atna.

   4. 'AłtsE̲tnei, or 'AłtsE̲tney, "Single-minded People," "People who are never beaten in war," "People who marry their own relatives." Among the Middle and Upper Atna.

5. TAltsina, short for tuRAltsina, “They came out of the water.” Among Middle and Western Atna, and to a lesser extent among the Upper Atna.

Sib origin stories link all the tribes on the Seagull side, some informants claiming that they were originally a single group that came up the Copper River from the coast and later split, each division taking their present names from things they found: Sib A2 from red paint for the face, Sib A4 from a fish tail for a hat, Sib A6 from a snowbird feather for the nose, Sib A5 from canyon berries for beads. Stories of universal coastal origin may be questioned, in the light of the great admiration felt by the modem Atna for the Tlingit, dating from contacts during the present century. According to one version, the finders were sisters, although informants differ as to whether they were originally called WUdjIcyu (Al), because they used caribou skins for betting, or NI’tcIcyu (A3), or Tcicyu (A2).

The most common version is that the Caribou people (A1) were descended from a good-looking individual (man, or woman, or baby of either sex), who was found by a hunter among a herd of caribou somewhere to the northwest in the hunting grounds near Tangle Lakes. This individual was not the offspring of caribou, but was simply left behind when the herd ran away. Some say it was a Tcicyu (A2) man who was living with and caring for the herd. Like the caribou, this sib claims to be good-looking, clean, gentle, and also high class.

The Canyonberry People (A5) are so called because they walked into the berries, or ate them, or are descended from a man found among the bushes. One informant associated the “Cliff Place People” with enemies from lower Cook Inlet, and denied that they formed a sib. Others, who recognize the people of this name as a sib, ascribed their origin either to the west, or said that they had come up the Copper River, and that the names (tsʾUNRAx, both for a place and for canyonberry; and nIgE’ kulän, “cliff place”), referred to localities in Lower Atna country where they formerly lived. NigE’is also said to be the Cook Inlet word for “canyonberry.”

"The Tcicyu (A2) have the Bear. They were really mean long time ago [like the bear] ... They come from the Bear." The same is said of the NI’tcIcyu (A3). Both "got the bear head. They are kind of fat people like bears -- bad people." One informant said that only the NI’tcIcyu had the Bear, relating this to the story of the woman who married a bear, a subject about which people are loath to speak, perhaps because we were asking in the summertime, which is not the correct season for telling myths. It is said that the NI’tcIcyu have whiter skins than the Tcicyu.

It would also appear that the Tcicyu (and/or NI’tcIcyu) were a poor ragged people, putting up fish at Taral in Lower Atna country, when the Ditsi’Iltsina (B1) came up the Copper River. The latter destroyed their fish racks, apparently from spite. In revenge, the Tcicyu enslaved the newcomers, but the latter summoned their relatives, the NAltsina (B2), who came down from the sky, and defeated the Tcicyu. The latter are now considered rather low class by both WUdjIcyu (A1) and NAltsina (B2). One informant said that the Tcicyu also "have the Pigeon Hawk" (gI’saˊˊ or kʾltsaˊ), without explaining further.

Two or three Tcicyu sisters left Copper River, going toward Knik Arm of Cook Inlet. On this journey, one found red paint, another and her baby turned to stone forming a prominent landmark near the source of the Matanuska River, while the third married at Knik, thus accounting for the Tcicyu on Cook Inlet. Another story tells how one Tcicyu woman, angered or shamed because her father, or husband, had given a fine spoon to her sister, or co-wife, left Lower Atna country and went either over the glaciers to the coast (cf. the Eyak Tcicqedi), or over Skolai Pass to the Upper Tanana. The same story is told at Tetlin (McKennan 1959:125), and it also reminds us of the motivation for the K^{w}ackq̓wan migration from the Lower Atna area to Yakutat.

To explain the origin of the Crow sibs, it is said that there were three sisters on the coast, the oldest of whom was the ancestress of the D̲itsi'I̲ltsina (B1) who came up the Copper River. The second married a Star-Husband and was ancestress of the N̲A̲ltsina, (B2); the third was ancestress of the Tlingit, or of a Tlingit sib. The mother of these girls was said by one informant to have been the Seal (qaseiR̲i̲ł̓ai or ka ´sA̲Ri̲ł̓ai´), or connected with the Seal in some way.

After their release from the Tcicyu, the D̲itsi'I̲ltsina continued north to Middle Atna country, where they met the 'AłtsE̲tnei (B4) who were coming down from the north. These groups adopted each other as brothers and sisters, a common occurrence in Athapaskan sib origin tales. The 'AłtsE̲tnei gave the D̲itsi'I̲ltsina a bear skull cap and a bear claw necklace, receiving in return a marten cap and wooden cap with visor (cat̓a), ornamented with porcupine quills and paint. Could the last have been the Tlingit headdress with wooden mask front, sea lion whiskers and flicker feathers, called cAk̓i'A̲t?

According to some, the N̲A̲ltsina (B2) landed from the sky, not down river at Taral, but at Tazlina Lake in Middle Atna country. Nearly all were shamans; indeed, it has been suggested that they introduced shamanism. They claim to be the head sib in their moiety, and to be very wealthy, aristocratic, and also to be feared because they like to fight.

The Dix̓agiyu (B3) originated on the coast, but opinions vary as to whether they came up the river with the D̲itsi'I̲ltsina, or descended from the sky with the N̲A̲ltsina. They owe their name to the fact that when the two other sibs put feathers on their heads, the Dix̓agiyu used fireweed cotton, and so are called "Fireweed Cotton People." The association with fireweed and with a sky origin reminds us of the Gitksan phratry, Gisrast, even though the story of marriage with the Rays-of-the-Sun is not the Star-Husband tale, but one told by the C̲A̲nkuqedi and other Tlingit Wolf sibs about a widow who married her daughter to the Sun. At any event, some informants claim that the Dix̓agiyu have "no grandpa, no roots (wuq̓E̲´dzA̲)," and that they try to kill everyone. This sib split, one group remaining on the Copper River, the other going (over Skolai Pass?) to the Upper Tanana (cf. McKennan 1959:123 for the same story told at Tetlin).

The 'AłtsE̲tnei (B4) came originally from Midway Lake, in Upper Tanana country. They "always win the war," and boast that they are so feared that their enemies never seek revenge. Nor do they have to pay blood money. They themselves feel that they are the warrior protectors of the Atna, especially

against Chugach Eskimo raids. When they danced, they are said to have worn a grizzly bear skull, minus the mandible, and when they met the DI̲tsi'I̲ltsina (Bl) they gave this to their new friends. Some say that they traded the bear cap for the netted cap of the NA̲ltsina (B2).

According to one elaborate account heard among the Upper Atna, there were really three groups of 'AłtsE̲tnei:

(a) The real 'AłtsE̲tnei from Midway Lake, who made friends with the Atna Crow sibs, and who are now represented at Tetlin and Tanacross on the Upper Tanana, and among the Upper and Middle Atna. They are associated with a plant called "water eyes."

(b) The Middle (tani´dzE̲) 'AłtsE̲tnei who came from Fairbanks, and assisted the first group when the latter were lost. These two groups, a and b, now intermarry. The Fairbanks people "use" the marten tail. "We come from the Marten. He is our chief." It would appear that the middle group, b, can also marry the third group, c (cf. McKennan 1959:125).

(c) The Northway 'AłtsE̲tnei, or Nä'za´ (or Nä'dza), whose grandma came from Canada. They "use" the fox tail. At one time they fought the Midway Lake group (a), and, in this fight, nearly exterminated their friends, the Fairbanks group (b). These people would appear to be the Canadians, miscalled "Wolves," whom McKennan reports were recently established at Northway (1959:124, "Nisu"; Guédon 1971: "Ne'su").

Descendants of a marriage between groups (a) and (b) are now living among the Upper Atna. This is the first reference to the "Middle People," so important a designation among the Kutchin and Koyukon.

The TA̲ltsina (B5) who came from Cook Inlet are said to be derived from the Sea Otter (qa'ya´ci), and therefore claim to have the most beautiful black hair. When the Red Paint People (Tcicyu, Sib A2) first came to Cook Inlet, their youths saw some lovely TA̲ltsina girls swimming. When they stole their beautiful dresses, decorated with dentalia, the girls surrendered themselves. Some informants, however, say that the TA̲ltsina"have" the Killer Whale (tE̲'tsA̲' or tE̲'dzai), or the Land Otter (ťoxťei, or wU̲'ziyE̲'), while still others say that they "have no grandpa." The place of origin of the sib is specified as Kenai or Kalgin Island in Cook Inlet.

There are now two branches of this sib: (a) the main body who moved eastward to the middle Copper River, and (b) those who went north up the Susitna into the mountains, where they became known as "Mountain People" (dRI̲lai koxťänA̲') , or as "Mountain Squirrel People" (tcI̲lI̲s RA̲ntE̲nA̲'), or "They came out of the Squirrel (tcI̲lI̲s 'I̲tsina), either because they descended from squirrels (?), or, as is usually said, because they had caps of mountain squirrel fur. This last group is found in the extreme northwesternmost Atna community, with a few representatives among the Middle Atna on the Copper River. Those of group (b) among the Middle Atna are also called TE̲nR̲oxt̲'änA̲' or TE̲nR̲ałt̲'änA̲' (referring to ice), to distinguish them from the ordinary TA̲ltsina (group a).

Tanaina

The Tanaina of Cook Inlet are closely related to the Atna, as their sibs indicate. Both von Wrangell (1839) and Osgood (1937) have given us lists of these which clearly show the shifts in sibs between 1839 and 1931-1932.

According to von Wrangell (1839), Raven created two women, from whom the sibs in each moiety are descended. He gives no names for the moieties, nor does Osgood. The latter (1937:128) further specifies that they possessed no distinguishing crests, and von Wrangell reports that even without visible insignia to indicate sib or moiety membership, a Kenai "Raven" is accepted as belonging to the equivalent group among the Atna, Eyak, Tlingit, and more distant Athapaskans (Galzane). Osgood was unable to compile a definitive list of sibs, for while he recorded ten sib names for one moiety and five for the other, no single informant could remember more than six or seven of the total. Furthermore, neither author specifies in what divisions of the Tanaina the particular sibs are represented, although we would assume that von Wrangell's list refers particularly to the groups at Kenai, site of the main Russian post. Osgood's informants came from all parts of Tanaina country, and their parents had often belonged to still other settlements, so that his information represents a composite picture. Apparently his informant at Kachemak Bay, on the lower east shore of Cook Inlet, gave most data.

Osgood designates the two moieties as A and B, and compares his list of sibs with those recorded by von Wrangell. I have simplified and transliterated the phonetics of both, referring to the Russian original. These moieties correspond in the main to the Atna Seagull (A) and Crow (B) divisions, although there is no exact matching of sibs.

Moiety A

Von Wrangell (1839)	Osgood (1937)
1. Tcixyei, from a color	1. Tcicyi (čišyi), refers to red ochre
2. Nuxci, fallen from the sky	2. Noxci (noxši), meaning unknown
	3. Nitcicyi (ničišyi), meaning unknown
	4. Q'atłaxtana (q'aλaxdana), refers to the right rear corner of house, or to people who must tell the truth
	5. Q'aḡali, refers to a salmon tail
6. Kali, from a fish tail	6. Qali, refers to a salmon tail
7. Kaxgiya, from the cry of a raven	7. Q'aqyi, refers to a raven

8. Tcinclaxotana (cinslaxodana), refers to a raven

9. DegeNgatłoxtana (degeʒgaλoxdana), meaning unknown

10. YosdeR̲e RA̲ltsina (yosd ẏe ẏalcina), meaning unknown

11. Tlaxtana, from a braided grass mat

12. Montoxtana, from the rear corner of the house

It can be seen that four sibs are the same on both lists, that Osgood recorded six names that do not correspond to von Wrangell's list, while the former had two that do not appear on Osgood's. However, one of Osgood's informants was convinced that A3 and A4 were the same. While A5 and A6 are certainly duplicates, I am less convinced that A7 and AS should be lumped or that they refer to Raven.

According to an Upper Inlet informant, sibs A1, A3, and A6 were the original groups, descended from three sisters who came from the direction of Copper River. The first found red ochre, from which the name Tcicyi (Atna A2, Tcicyu) was derived. Another (A6) found a salmon tail, hence the name Q̓ag̣ali (Atna A4, K̲I̲’la’yu or K̲I̲’k̲E̲’lyu). The Tanaina seem to have the same difficulty in explaining the origin of the name Nitcicyi (A3), as the Atna in deciphering the meaning of N̲I̲’tc̲I̲cyu (A3).

It is further clear that Tanaina A7 (Kaxgiya) is the same as Atna A6 (Qwäxyu or Qwakiyu), referring to the Snowbird (snow bunting), not the Raven. One of Osgood's informants thought that this sib was descended from a grand-daughter of a woman in sib A3.

Moiety B

Von Wrangell (1839)

Osgood (1937)

1. Noltcina (nolčina), refers to a sky origin

2. Tultsina, from willingness to bathe in cold water in autumn

2. Toltcina (tolčina), refers to a sea origin

3. Tsaltana, refers to a mountain on Kenai Peninsula

3. Całtana (całdana), refers to a mountain origin

4. Degagiyi, refers to a cotton-like plant

5. Yogotch nARA̲ltcina (yogočknoẏolčina)

6. Katluxtana, fond of stringing beads

7. Cculaxtana, referring to a trickster like Raven, who created the land and people, but always cheated them

8. Nutcixgi, referring to the same mountain as B3

It is clear that Osgood's Noltcina (B1) are the same as the Atna NA̲ltsina (B2), and the origins of both are associated with the Star-Husband myth. According to to the Tanaina version, after the Noltcina chief (North Star) and the Tcicyi (A2) chief had married each other's sisters, the Noltcina settled around Copper River. If they came from the sky, I suppose they might be thought to have descended at some mountain, perhaps the one near Skilak Lake on Kenai Peninsula (cf. sibs B3 and B8). It should be noted that some Atna say that the NA̲ltsina landed near Tazlina Lake, west of the Copper River, and Osgood's informant at Tyonek, "who seems to know most about moiety organization," linked Całtana (B3) and the Noltcina (B1). One man said B3 was the same as A1.

Osgood's yogočnoyolčina (B5, Yogotck nARAltcina) looks like the designation of a special branch of the Noltcina, as I have suggested in my transliteration.

Osgood suggests that von Wrangell's Nutcixgi (B8) may be the same as Osgood's Nitcicyi (A3), but the first may just as well be an expanded form of Nuxci or Noxci (A2), and this in turn be the same as Noltcina (B1), since both sibs A2 and B1 had a sky origin. However, Nutcixgi (B8) may be the equivalent of the Atna WU̲djI̲cyu (A1), though associated with the ''wrong'' moiety on Cook Inlet.

If B1, B3, B8, and A2 are all branches or local variants of one Sky sib (Tanaina B1, Atna B2), we would have to explain why Noxci (Tanaina A2) is in the other moiety. One of Osgood's informants said that the Noxci (A2) were the descendants of a union between Tcicyi (A1) and Noltcina (B1), but we are not told which was the mother's sib.

To explain the seemingly anomalous position of Tanaina sibs A2 and B8 from the Atna point of view, if they are the equivalents of Atna sibs B2 and A1, respectively, I would suggest that subdivisions of a sib, on going into a new country where they have no close relatives, may easily marry into the ''wrong'' moiety, as well as acquire variant designations.

However, the Noxci A2, according to a Kenai informant, were the first sib, and all others in Moiety A were derived from them. They were originally a brother and sister who had escaped from the Chugach Eskimo in the east, and had settled at Skilak Lake. One of their children was born in the right rear corner of the house (sib A4). If this account, which says nothing about a sky origin, is accepted, then the Noxci might well be the equivalent of the Atna A1, WU̲djI̲cyu, for the latter are sometimes mentioned as the original Seagull sib, even though there is no Tanaina story mentioning association with the caribou. Is van Wrangell's sib A11, Tlaxtana, associated with a braided mat, related to Osgood's sib A4, Qatlaxtana? Note that the endings are the same. And are Montoxtana (sib A12) also

children of sib A2 who were born in another rear corner of the house? The fact that back corners are specified for both sibs A4 and A12 supports the story of an incestuous or irregular union. The "brother and sister" of the Noxci story need not be considered as true siblings, or even as sibmates, but might be members of two sibs which were classed in different moieties in their original (Atna?) home, but which the Tanaina felt belonged to the same moiety.

The Noltcina (sib B1) are said to have brought in the Deg̣agiyi (sib B4). Although the latter are associated with the cottony Dryas octopetala, or White Mountain Avens, they are clearly the same as the Atna sib B3 or "Fireweed Cotton People."

Von Wrangell's sib B6, Katluxtana, who are fond of stringing beads, seem to correspond to sibs A4, Q'atłaxtana, and A9, DegeN̲gatłoxtana, in the opposite moiety. If Osgood is correct in equating sibs B6 and A9, and if I in turn may equate these with sib A4, then it would seem that we are dealing with variants of the Atna sib A5, DengI̲'gI̲' koxt'änA̲ or TcUNRaxt'änA̲', who strung canyonberries as beads and seem to have been a western sib.

Lastly, Tanaina sib B2, the bathers in cold water, are certainly the same as the Atna sib B11, TA̲ltsina, who came from Cook Inlet. Tanaina informants say that the first of this sib were found below Tyonek by a Fishtail (sib A5) man, or that they came from the sea in boats. Sometimes they are said to be three-foot high men in skin boats, which suggests an Atna version that would derive them from the Eskimo of Kodiak Island.

Von Wrangell's sib B7, Cculaxtana (C'culaxtana, Ctcułaxtana?, variously transliterated as Schischlachtana by Baer 1839, šdolaxdana by Osgood, and Shshulakhtana by Vanstone), Osgood believes corresponds to his Tcinclaxotana (sib A8) because both would appear to refer to a raven or raven-like trickster. If so, we would expect to find them both in Moiety B, corresponding to the Atna Crow side. Is it possible that the name refers to the small slate gray Dipper or Water Ouzel, Cinclus mexicanus unicolor, termed "Crow's nephew," and named Sk'ułtsʾä´x or Qołtsʾaẋ by the Atna and Tc'A̲'qołtsʾit at Tetlin?

Upper Tanana or Nabesna

The Indians of the upper Tanana River valley include, going downstream, the five bands originally designated as the Upper Tanana Indians by McKennan (1959): Scottie Creek near the Canadian border, upper Chisana and upper Nabesna rivers (extinct), Northway on the lower Nabesna, Last Tetling (extinct), and Tetlin. To them should also be added the residents of Dot Lake and Tanacross, formerly from Lake Mansfield and Kechumstuk and from George Creek and Healy Lake (McKennan 1969a, b). These groups form the people called Nabesnatánas by Allen (1887), from the name they gave to the upper Tanana River, and for brevity can be called Nabesna here, since they are all very similar in customs and are united through intermarriages (McKennan 1959, 1969a, 1969b, and fieldnotes 1962; Heinrich 1957; de Laguna and McClellan, fieldnotes 1960; de Laguna and Guedon, fieldnotes 1968; Guédon 1971). There are, however, some differences in minor usages and in the particular sibs represented in each community, just as was characteristic of the various Atna communities. Like the

Atna, the Nabesna have two moieties, Seagull and Crow. In addition, there is one Crow sib from the Copper River who have married with both sides and who, according to Guédon, seem to be affiliating themselves more and more with the Seagulls. There are also some individuals from the Middle Tanana and increments from Canada.

Information from Tetlin dates from 1929-30, 1937, 1956, and 1968-70, recording change through time. In 1929-30, McKennan noted that there were two exogamous matrilineal "phratries," divided into clans. He used the term phratry because tradition mentioned a third group, already then extinct, which had married into both sides. Despite recurrent anomalies of this kind, the organization is essentially dual. The ''Wolf'' or Seagull moiety (A) and the Crow moiety (B) are equated with the Seagull of the Atna and Wolf of the Southern Tutchone, and with the Crow of the Atna and Tutchone.

Moiety A

McKennan	Heinrich	Guédon and de Laguna
Wolf or Tcion	Wolf (Tikaanyu) & Seagull (Baxqaie)	Seagull (Biq̓ai or Tc̓iạ) or Wolf (Thikạạkiyu)
1. Tcizu, red ochre	1. Ciisyu	1. Tcizyu or Tcisyu, red painting
	2. C̓aan	2. Tc̓ia, Bonaparte's Gull
3. Nitchelyu, fish back	3. Tc̓elyu, fish tail	3. Tcitcelyu, fish tail
		4. Biq̓ai, Herring Gull
	5. Utsixyu, caribou	5. Udjiciyu, Caribou People, extinct
		6. Kii'k̓yu, snow bird, extinct
		7. Gi'yA̲nI' or Ti'ciaan, Golden Eagle, Bald Eagle

McKennan notes association of this moiety with Seagull, Caribou (A5), and Bear (A1 among Atna). The Atna word for Seagull (nA̲lbei) and the Tetlin words for the two species of Seagull (tc̓iạ and biq̓ai) are used to designate the whole moiety, or may be employed by individuals to indicate their affiliation, but it is doubtful if these are the names of actual sibs at Tetlin (A2, A4). Furthermore, while informants mentioned Fish Tail (A3), Caribou (A5), Snow Bird (A6), and Eagle (A7), these do not really seem to be represented at Tetlin. Rather, we can recognize two main groups, Tcizyu (from red paint, tcic, A1), who

came from Copper River, and the Tcitcelyu (A3, fish tail) from Canada, where Eagle or Fort Yukon are sometimes specified. They are probably the same as the Nitchelyu of McKennan, and by some are associated with blue paint. The "Red Paint People" and the "Salmon Tail People" were the only sibs of this moiety reported by Rainey at Tetlin in 1937 (letter to McKennan, 26/3/37).

Heinrich (1957) distinguishes between a Wolf Tikaanyu group from the northern Yukon drainage, and a Tc̓elyu or C̓aan group from the south, the Red Paint People (A1) coming from Anchorage, and the Caribou People (A5) from Lake Louise in the Western Atna area. De Laguna was told that Tc̓ia (or Tc̓iya^{n}) was simply the local name for the Tcisyu (A1) from the Copper River, the latter term being preferred by recent Atna immigrants to Tetlin.

McKennan recorded the Nitchelyu (A3) as being at Tanacross, and while our informants placed the Eagles (A7) at Northway, they did not know where the Snow Bird sib (A6) was, although this was listed.

Moiety B

McKennan	Heinrich	Guédon and de Laguna
Raven (Neltcin)	Amalgamated Naltsiin (Naltsiin Ditaandye)	Crow (taatsą̣’ or da·ts̓A̲^{n})
1. Neltcin	1. Real Neltsiin	1. Naltsina, N̲altsin
		2. Ditsi’iltsina
3. Thakagiyu	3. Tagaxyu (down)	3. Dik̓agiyu (Tc̓l̲k̓ayu, Dik̓aayu, or Dik̓agi, fireweed seed)
4. Atzan´ne	4. Ałatdindei (fearless)	4. Ałtseť̓dendei, or ’Ałts̓E̲td̲E̲ndei
5. Nisu (at Northway)	5. Niisáa (cliffs or gorges)	5. Ne’su, or Ni·s̓aal
	6. Taltsin (divide-crossers)	6. Taltsina (extinct)
		7. Tzoga (marten)

McKennan notes an association of this moiety with the Otter (cf. A6), and with the Swan. According to the version he recorded, the Neltcin (B1) came up the Copper River to the Tanana, where some remained, while others went on down the river. Those who came first were oppressed by the dominant Tcion (Moiety A). Then the Thikagiyu (B3) came from the sky like or with downy feathers -- like the downy seeds of the fireweed or cottonwood, according to Guédon's informants -- and allied

themselves with the Neltcin. There seems to be no question but that this event took place in the lower Copper River country, even though the Atna give credit to the nA̲ltsina as being the rescuers from the sky, while they see the Dik̓agiyu as only associated with them in a sky origin. Our modern Tetlin informants also report that the nA̲ltsina came from the sky, calling them "Star People," say they journeyed up the Copper River, and then spread all over Alaska. The Dik̓agiyu at Tetlin say also: ''We came from the Star," landing on the Copper River and thence coming to Tetlin.

Rainey in 1937 (letter to McKennan 26/3/37) identifies the Naltsi´n (B1) as ''Wolverine People of Copper River," and also as "Raven People." The igalyu^{h} (B3) were described as "straight people," and identified with the cottonwood (with cottonwood down?).

As recent immigrants to the Upper Tanana, the Dik̓agiyu (B3) are considered "far enough away" to be able to marry into their own moiety, while still claiming the Crow. They and the Naltsina are the two most numerous sibs at Tetlin, so perforce many marriages take place between them, as well as between the Dik̓agiyu and other Crow sibs. While there were some marriages in the past with Seagull sibs, at present the Dik̓agiyu do not marry them and in fact have become practically assimilated with the Seagulls as part of their exogamous moiety. According to Guédon's careful analysis, there are no approved marriages between any other sibs in the Crow moiety (i.e., among B1, 2, 4, or 5), and no recorded marriages within the Seagull moiety.

A similar situation exists at Northway, where the Dik̓agiyu and Ne’su (B5) are the most numerous sibs, and also at Tanacross where the Dik̓agiyu and ’AłtsE̲̓tdE̲ndei (B4) are the most numerous. Here at Tanacross an informant said: "Old time Crow marry NA̲lbei [seagull], and Crow could marry Crow," presumably referring to marriages of Dik̓agiyu with ’AłtsE̲̓tdE̲ndei. While NA̲ltsin (B1) also married ’AłtsE̲̓tdE̲ndei at Tanacross this was evidently irregular, for they had to potlatch to the opposite moiety, not to each other.

The ’AłtsE̲̓tdE̲ndei (B4), according to Tetlin informants, were originally sticks or stumps, or pointed spruce trees (’A̲ł), growing out of the island in Midway Lake, from which the NA̲ltsin rescued them, because they had no water craft. McKennan (1959:124-125) was told a similar story of their origin, and that they were trouble-makers. Those now among the Upper Tanana are supposed to have descended from one woman who survived a massacre. Rainey (letter to McKennan 26/3/37) identified their name as "one people," and reported similar traditions.

There is only one DI̲tsi’I̲ltsina (B2) family at Tetlin, but it is clear that they immigrated from the Copper River. At Tetlin it is said that their name refers to intra-sib marriages, which indeed have occurred among them.

The original Ne’su (B5) was a baby that floated down a river in a rabbit- skin raft or cradle and was hooked ashore by the NA̲ltsina. The river was apparently one that ran north into the Tanana or Yukon (White River?) in Canada. This sib is primarily established at Scottie Creek and Northway but there are now a few individuals married into Tetlin. In 1929-30, McKennan encountered them as "a third

phratry," who had recently come but were being identified with the "Neltsin phratry," implying that they were still inter-marrying with both moieties. At the present time, they seem to be thoroughly. integrated with the Crow moiety; however, since they came from Canada, where all people are supposed to be Wolves, this sib is sometimes erroneously called "Wolf." Their name, rendered as Ni˙s̓A̲l by a Northway informant, means "All tear up," referring to their pants which were torn because they had come from so far away. "He's NA̲ltsina all right, but little bit different. Pretty near the same, but come from Canada side....Pretty near he got the Crow." This group is associated with the Fox Tail.

The TA̲ltsin or Taltsina (B6), "divide-crossers" according to Heinrich, are said to have come from the Yukon to the Tanana, then went to the Copper River and back to the Tanana, although there are now none among the Nabesna. Informants mention this group, sometimes uncertainly, as Copper River allies of the NA̲ltsin. Guédon was told that there were formerly members of this sib among the Middle Tanana at Saleha and Big Delta.

McKennan (1959:125) also mentions the Marten clan as a third group, "almost a cousin to them all," which was absorbed by the Neltcin (B7, Tzoga). This means that they originally inter-married with both moieties. At Tanacross I was told that the Marten (ts̓u˙gE̲' or tzo'ga) People were "a kind of 'AłtsE̲tdE̲ndei, who had come from Tu˙tł'a on the lower Tanana, i.e., Tutlut, at the confluence of the Toklat-Kantishna River with the Tanana. They were called Marten People because of their wealth in marten furs. Therefore, the 'AłtsE̲tdE̲ndei at Tanacross claim that they "have" both the Crow and the Marten.

The Marten People are probably the same as those whom the Upper Atna called 'Middle 'AłtsE̲tnei'' (Atna sib B4 b), just as they called the Nä'za˙ (or Ne'su) the "Northway 'AłtsE̲tnei'' (sib B4 c).

At Northway, the sibs represented are:

Moiety A	Moiety B
Wolf (TI̲qani), Tc̓iyạ	Crow (Da'ts̓A̲)
	1. NA̲ltsin
2. Tc̓iyạ	
	3. Dik̓ayu, or Dix̓agi, or Tc̓ikayu
4. Biq̓ai (if indeed distinct)	4. 'AłtsE̲tdE̲ndei
5. GI̲'yanI̲' (reported here by Tanacross informants, but not verified)	5. Ne.su or Ni˙s̓A̲l

At Tanacross and Dot Lake many of the same sibs are represented, although the Seagull moiety (NA̲lbei, Biq̓ai, Tc̓iya̲) is usually called Tc̓a·z, Tc̓a·zE̲n, or Tc̓iaaz, which seems to be also the name of its principle sib. I am indebted to McKennan for notes taken from three Tanacross informants in 1962, as well as for information recorded by Rainey in 1937. It should be noted that their informants did not assign sibs to moieties, although this was done by those consulted by myself and McClellan in 1960 and by Guédon in 1969-70.

Moiety A: Seagull

1. Tcicyu, “red paint”, mentioned only to us. Tcizu (McKennan), “red paint”; according to one informant, came across the ocean at Anchorage, with skin painted red. Tsésyu^{h} (Rainey), “too strong people,” from the lower Tanana. We were also given the name, N̲Intcicyu, “red paint all over,” as another name.

2. Tc̓a·z, Tc̓a·zE̲n, or Tc̓iaaz. Tciadz (McKennan), or even Tcion, “Wolf,” or “Middle,” who come in the “middle of the river.”

3. Tc̓l’tcE̲lyu, “salmon tail,” “the real Tc̓a·zE̲n,” according to our informants. Tcetcélu^{h} (Rainey); and Tc̲ltcE̲lyu (McKennan), “fish tail,” light complexion, associated with Goodpaster.

4. (Not mentioned.)

5. Wuts̓l̲syu or WA̲djicyu, “Caribou People,” represented by one old man in 1960. “Caribou People” (McKennan), descended from a baby girl found in the middle of a big caribou drive.

Moiety B: NA̲ltsin or Crow (Dats̓A̲’)

1. NA̲ltsin, Naltsin (Rainey), or Ne̲ltcin (Mkennan). Rainey was told that this was a “new name for the Altsadene,” (B4), and one of McKennan’s informants referred to the Neltsin as “Caribou Tail.”

2. D̲ltsi’l̲ltsina, mentioned to us only in 1960.

3. Dikagi, Dikagiyu; or Tsigágiyu^{h} (Rainey; from Kechumstuk); of D̲lkagiiyU̲ or D̲lgakl̲yu (McKennan). McKennan’s informants variously identified the name with “cotton” or “down”; or even with “fire,” or “carrying fire.” One man said they came from the Copper River and were “almost the same as Tcizyu, red paint.” Another reported that they had floated down from the sky in the Cordova area, near the mouth of the Copper River.

4. ’AɬtsE̲tdE̲ndei. McKennan’s informants variously rendered this as Atsidende or AθsitdI̲nde, “one-way people,” from Midway Lake, light in complexion, or as AtzU̲nttI̲ne, “Bear Head,” with dark complexion; and as AtsitdI̲ndE̲.

5. Two of McKennan’s informants mentioned the Niso or Nisau, but apparently not as residents as Tanacross. The first said that the sib was represented by a small boy in a rabbit skin robe, rescued by the Caribou Tail People (B1), from the river in the Scottie Creek – Northway area. The other specified that the Nisau had been saved from a raft on the Yukon by Sib B4.

6. Both our informants and those of Rainey mentioned the TA̲ltsina, or Taltsin, but with the statement that there were none in the area.

According to a Tanacross informant, "Blackbird" (Water Ouzel), Crow's nephew, found a house in which he heard the sounds of people dancing, but all he could see around the fire were a caribou tail, red paint (tsa), blue paint (tsI̲’tɬE̲´gi’), a fish tail, and fireweed. When Old Crow kicked them, WutsI̲syu (A5) came out of the caribou tail, Tcl’tcE̲lyu (A3) came from the salmon tail, Tcicyu (A1) came from the red paint, and NA̲ltsin (B1), ’AɬtsE̲tdE̲ndei (B4), and Dikagi (B3) came out of the blue paint. The last is an obvious slip by the narrator, for he forgot to mention what came from the fireweed – B3.

The Tca˙z or Tca˙zE̲n are closely related to the Atna Tcicyu (A1). They are said to be called DI̲’tcI̲l (fish tail) by the Yukon people, and Djos by the Canadians at Snag, Kluane Lake and Whitehorse. According to one account they came from the Yukon above Dawson, or from the east. Another version says that they came from the ocean, and met the NI̲ntcicyu or Tcicyu (A1) on the upper Nabesna. The Tcicyu traded their bow and arrow for the fish tail of the Tca˙zE̲n; thereby the peoples became one.

The Tca˙zE̲n are said to have been a great nation, formerly rich and in consequence died fast, for only the poor live long. This disaster may be connected with the fact that one woman of that sib tortured her father's dog with fire; he returned as a handsome man and married her as a punishment. The Tca˙zE̲n came from the east, met the ’AɬtsE̲tdE̲ndei (B4), and went on to the Copper River. Here the Tca˙zE̲n found the poor Tcicyu (A1), whom they helped, only to be enslaved by the latter, along with the ’AɬtsE̲tdE̲ndei. They called for help and the NA̲ltsin (B1) came down from the sky to their rescue, and married them. The Tca˙zE̲n had a woven hat, or an Eskimo hat with a picture, while the NA̲ltsin are said to have had a bear hat with teeth, and they exchanged these.

The usual story of the origin of the Caribou People (A5) was mentioned with the warning that it was taboo to tell it in the summer.

Some informants mention the ’AɬtsE̲tdE̲ndei (B4), NA̲ltsin (B1), and DI̲tsi’I̲ltsina as coming from Midway Lake, although the usual myth limits this origin to sib B4. The AɬtsE̲tdE̲ndei met the TA̲ltsina (B6) down on the Copper River, and exchanged hats as a sign of friendship. The TA̲ltsina also

exchanged hats with the NA̲ltsina, receiving the latter's bear head. One informant mentioned the upper Nabesna as the place where all the sibs met and intermarried.

Some interesting associations with animals were mentioned at Tanacross: NA̲ltsin got the Bear," and therefore "is best to hunt the bear. He's got the power [meanness] of the bear." "Tc̓a˙zE̲ or Tc̓l̲'tc̓E̲lyu are low people. They have the Seagull, nA̲lbei. When we were kids, if NA̲ltsin killed nA̲lbei [a seagull], Tc̓l̲'tc̓E̲lyu had to fight NA̲ltsin – scratch his face all over." 'AłtsE̲tdE̲ndei, NA̲ltsin, and Dl̲tsi'l̲ltsina got the Crow, da'ts̓a. They don't want to kill crow; that's his own people....If Tc̓l̲'tc̓E̲lyu kill crow, NA̲ltsin got to fight." '' Wuts̓l̲syu got caribou. That's all."

Some of these attitudes are similar to those of the Tlingit toward the sib crest animals: ravens, eagles, frogs, wolves, and bears.

Middle Tanana Indians

McKennan (1969a:338) terms Middle or Transitional Tanana Indians those groups that formerly occupied the Goodpaster and Salcha rivers, an area now abandoned. However, informants he interviewed at Tanacross and Dot Lake in 1962 gave him some information about sibs in this area. Again there is no indication of moieties, although I have assigned designations to these sibs corresponding to their equivalents on the upper river.

At Goodpaster, according to one informant, the TcazU̲m (A2) are the same as the Tcitcelyu (A3), and are also the same as the Canadian ''Wolves." They are dark colored. They came up the Yukon and then up the Tanana River, and traded their grass hats for the grizzly bear hats of the A'tzl̲tdl̲nde (B4). The Tcl̲zu (A1) came from the Valdez area, i.e., up from the Copper River. They were always low class, and never acted or spoke correctly. They were very poor, so the A'tzl̲tdl̲nde helped them until they became strong enough to turn on the latter. There were also the Θiqakiyu, ''Eagles," on the Tanana (B3), who had come from the sky. The A'tzl̲tdl̲nde (B4) were light in complexion.

A second informant listed six sibs in three pairs, but it is not clear whether he intended to mean that those paired were equivalents. These are:

> NE̲ltcin (B1), light colored, and Tcl̲zu (A2).
>
> Atzandine (B4), dark colored, and Dikogiyu (B3), light colored, cotton from the sky.
>
> Tcetcelyu (A3) light colored, and TcaΘa (AZ), also light colored. The latter, not A3, is called "fish tail."

At Salcha, a similar grouping of sibs was reported:

> Nelchl̲n or NelcΘl̲n (B1) and Tcisu (A1) -- "almost the same. Caribou Head."

TcicE̲lyu (A3) and Teatzun (A2) – “almost the same. Fish Tail.”

Atzitdinné (B4), "Bear."

Still another informant reported that Old Chief Henry of Tanacross, whose mother's family came originally from Salcha, belonged to a sib that was quite different from any of these, called DE̲njE̲git tak hotE̲n. This reminds us of the various "middle" groups already encountered, and which are ubiquitous on the Yukon.

The Yukon Group

McKennan (1969b:98-99) has pointed out that as we move from band to band we are really passing along a "cultural continuum," and that, in particular, one cannot make any sharp divisions among the Tanana River Indians, except to distinguish those at the mouth from their neighbors on the lower Tanana. Nevertheless, in considering sib organization, I find it perhaps more helpful to class the Lower Tanana Indians with those on the Yukon, rather than with their Middle Tanana relatives.

The "tribes" of the Yukon (Kutchin, Han, Koyukon), Lower Tanana, and Upper Kuskokwim, are noted for an organization apparently based upon three exogamous matrilineal sibs. As will be seen in the following analyses, the division is essentially a moiety one, with a "middle group" derived primarily from strangers who have married into the community but have not yet become assimilated to one moiety or the other, just as is the case with the Dik̓agiyu among the Nabesna, and the former "Middle ’AɬtsE̲tnei" or Marten People. The specific identity of the "Middle group" seems to vary from tribe to tribe, when we have sufficient information to identify it. Sometimes informants give additional names, apparently those of sibs among their neighbors, but which are "almost the same" as their own.

Lower Tanana Indians
The Lower Tanana Indians, according to McKennan (1969a:338-339), comprise those bands living along the river and its tributaries from the Chena (Fairbanks) almost to the mouth, including Wood, Nenana, Minto, and Tolovana. But the natives farthest downstream, including those of the Kantishna River-Lake Minchumina, Baker Creek, Cosna River drainages, like the people of Tanana on the Yukon at the confluence of the Tanana, are Koyukon. McKennan would place the Koyukon-Kutchin boundary at the Ramparts on the Yukon some forty miles above the mouth of the Tanana. I am indebted to McKennan for fieldnotes (1962) concerning sibs on the lower Tanana.

When I was at Nenana in 1935, I was told that there were three "families," and that the Indians still "marry out of the family." These sibs were:

1. BI̲tsl̓I̲tU̲x̣t̓ana, “caribou”

2. Tcl̓I̲tcalyu, “fish tail”

3. Tsixyu, “middle,” but obviously the Red Paint People

One can see that from the point of view of the Atna and Nabesna, all three sibs would belong to the same Seagull moiety.

In 1960, a Tanacross informant said that at Nenana and Minto there were “three of four different tribes,” and named:

1. BA̲’dzl̲^{x} tE̲’ xot̲’ana, “Caribou People,” from caribou, bA̲dzix

2. Tc̓l̲’tcälyu

3. Xotani´ł Ra̲ltci´tnA̲´, “Middle People. There are lots at Anchorage.”

One of McKennan's informants at Minto specified that there were three sibs derived from a three-part division of a fish, but did not name them. In the old days, wars were fought only between different sibs, living in different villages. Other informants emphasized that there were three major matrilineal sibs, distinguished by slightly different customs and distinctive face paint.
Residence was matrilocal. The sibs named were:

1. BU̲tzik totana, Utzi hotana, BetzIktitana, or Batsik tana, “Caribou Horn,” or “Caribou People,” who had come over the hills from the Yukon, perhaps from the Kuskokwim. They were the “top clan,” and wore a red stripe on each cheek and a feather in the hair.

2. TcitE̲lyu, TcitcE̲lyu, “Fish Tail.” They had come up the river. One informant equated them with the Jitsa sib of the Chandalar Kutchin.

3. NU̲ltcina, Nultsina, or NE̲lsina, “Rabbit Tail.” They came from the Cordova area.

Instead of No. 1, an informant mentioned the Tsahokotana, "Beaver clan, almost same as Caribou," who had come from downriver. He also substituted TciΘyU̲, "Red Paint," for No. 2. Another man listed Nos. 1 and 2, but then mentioned the TA̲nnejl̲khotana, ''Middle People," who are related to "both sides," and are similar to the Nultsina.

Thus, it would seem that at Minto the Nultsina or "Rabbit Tail" have taken the "middle position" which was occupied by the Red Paint People at Nenana.

Koyukon or Ten’a
Writing in 1906, Father Jette (1906:402) observed that the Ten’a above Nulato, i.e., the Koyukon, "sometimes say that they are divided into sub-tribes or clans called medzihterotana [Caribou], tonitserotana [Middle], and noletsina [NA̲ltsina]; but today these distinctions mean nothing. I have

found no one who could explain them and only a few who even knew about them." He further suggested that when Petroff alluded to the presence of clans in 1880 that they were then still in existence, but had subsequently disappeared. Father Jette's failure to learn more about these sibs, for which I have inserted the equivalents in brackets, is extraordinary, since I heard about them as late as 1935, and McKennan learned about them when he was stationed on the middle Yukon during World War II. That I did not learn more is because I was then engaged in an archaeological survey (de Laguna 1947). McKennan has again generously shared his information with me.

At Tanana Mission, on the Yukon opposite the mouth of the Tanana, I was told in 1935 that there were three exogamous "families." There were:

1. BɪtsictAx̣oťana, “Caribou People”

2. NoltsEna, translated as “Maggot People,” probably incorrectly.

3. TonɪʾdzRaltsɪťɬna, obviously meaning “middle sib,” although referred to as “Fish Tail People.”

In 1962 Kennan's informants at Tanana told him that the same sibs were found here as on the middle and lower Tanana River. They were:

1. “Caribou Horn”

2. Neltcina, who probably came here from Cook Inlet, via McGrath as hazarded by one informant who equated them with “Middle People.” Another thinks the “Middle People” came from Tanana.

3. Tcitcelyu

In 1935, a woman at Ruby and informants at Lowden, both places on the middle Yukon below the Nowitna and above the Koyukuk, gave the following names of sibs:

1. BɪtsɪctuxťanaCaribou People,” from the north, high class

2. NOltsina or NUltsina, Black Bear People, people from the other side, the poor man’s side.

3. TonɪtsOlsitɬna, “Middle of the River People,” or “Middle People.” Also identified as Brown Bear People or Fish People.

The Ruby informant referred to these sibs as "families," One Lowden informant implied that they were exogamous, mentioning a Fish man married to a Caribou woman, but said that down the river the groups were not exogamous.

At nearby Galena, during the war, McKennan recorded three sibs:

1. MetsIgtohotana, “Caribou People,” lighter colored

2. NUltcinatohotana, “Other people, Brown Bear People”

3. Tonitsanultcila, “Middle of the River People.” The informants believe they came from a fish.

At Koyukuk itself, in 1935, the sibs were:

1. BAtsIxtoẋtana, “Caribou People”

2. Naltsina, “Black Bear or Copper People”

3. Tonidza Raltsitłna, “From-out-of-the-Water People, or Marten People.”

Andrew Pilot, a shaman at Koyukuk Station, told the following story through an interpreter:

> There were warring tribes. They all came together one time and the three headmen from the three groups of people met. They wanted to decide what to call each other, and to make peace.
>
> They asked the first man, a Black Bear man, "What do you want to be called?"
>
> He said: "I did not come from on top of the ground. I came from underground, and in coming through the ground I passed copper and all different minerals, so I want to be called 'Copper,' Naltsina."
>
> ''Well, you have to prove that you came from underground. What do you have to prove it?"
>
> So he brought a sack with a piece of copper in it to prove it.
>
> They asked the second, the one that came sunwise, what he wanted to be called. He was Marten man.
>
> He said: "Well, I have come over a long stretch of water. I swam part of the way, and I came by boat part of the way, so I want to be called 'From-out-of-the-Water People.'"
>
> ''Well, give us proof that you have covered a great body of water."
>
> So he brought out a string of dentalium shells. So his people were called Tonidza Raltsitłna.

> The third man said that he came from the caribou country, far away, so they called his tribe "From-among-the-Caribou People,"
>
> BA̲tsl̲xtoẋtana. He was a Caribou man.

When I wrote about these sibs in 1947, I indicated that teams consisting of members of the three sibs from different villages on the lower Koyukuk and middle Yukon used to meet for

> ...something like a debating contest...The challengers made a speech full of obscure allusions to clan [village?] insignia -- a painted paddle was mentioned in describing a particular occasion -- and the opposing team had to guess the meaning of the particular allusion and counter it with a speech of their own. It is probable that such large gatherings took place in a kashim, but of course we have no evidence that a kashim or meeting house was built on the Yukon above the Koyukuk until modern times (de Laguna 1947:102).

It is now clear that the "debating contests" refer to the riddling speeches which are characteristic of potlatches, at least among the Atna and Nabesna, who use such occasions to exhibit to their guests some treasured object associated with their history, or to display objects symbolic of a misunderstanding or quarrel with their guests which they want the latter to resolve. It is the village chiefs who make such speeches, and only an "educated man," one who has relatives in the hosts' town to teach him its history, can hope to win such contests.

McKennan reports that at Nulato, on the Yukon below the Koyukuk, there were also three sibs:

1. Caribou People, good people, lighter colored
2. Neltcina, Bear People, bad people
3. Middle People (otherwise not identified)

We also note that members of the four bands of Koyukuk River Indians were also divided into three exogamous matrilineal sibs that assisted each other's members at funerals, for which they were entertained by the deceased's sibmates at a potlatch, and that provided hospitality and protection for their own sibmates when the latter came from other localities. These sibs are:

1. Bijé-ta hotana, “people who live among the caribou.”
2. Nulchina, or “iron” people. A. Clark suggests that the association is likely to have been with bear or copper. They are now the most important sib.
3. Tonitza alchilla, “in the middle of the water,” reported to have the most friends, and formerly the most important because they were associated with dentalia. They are also known as the Gitliná, “dentalium people.”

Clark also indicates that in recent times the two uppermost bands on the Koyukuk have friendly ties with the uppermost Yukon River Koyukon, particularly with those from Steven's Village, which at present has a mixed Koyukon-Kutchin population. Before contact, however, a good deal of internecine raiding occurred between the Koyukuk River people and the Kutchin. Here, the same sibs are found. For example, Catharine McClellan interviewed a man from Steven's Village who said that his people had come from the Chandalar River and called themselves Yuqonx̣^{w}oťäna (McClellan: personal communication). While he himself had been born at Steven's Village, his father had come from Bettles on the Koyukuk and his wife was a Tanana River woman, daughter of a man from Old Crow (Chandalar Kutchin). The group at Steven's Village is obviously mixed, and may be considered as much Koyukon as Kutchin. McClellan's informant explained that his people had matrilineal sibs, although he thought of them as geographical groups, and named them:

1. BA̲̲’dj̲l̲c’ tA̲̲ x̣^{w}oťäna, Caribou People

2. NA̲̲’tci˙na’ x̣^{w}oťäna, “Multiplyers”

3. Toni˙dz’A̲̲ RA̲̲̲ltsî.bl̲’ x̣^{w}oťäna, “Middle Race.”

McGrath or Upper Kuskokwim Indians
The Indians of the upper Kuskokwim River, formerly supposed to be Ingalik, are now shown by Hosley to be more closely related to the Koyukon of the lower Tanana and to the Tanaina of Cook Inlet. They have a matrilineal, matrilocal sib organization, and a "Normal Iroquois" kinship system, as defined by Murdock (Hosley 1968, letters 26/1/63 to McKennan and 23/7/71 to myself; McKennan 1969b). Hosley has unfortunately given these people the name "Kolchan," which is simply the Athapaskan word for "alien" or "stranger," applied to many groups and therefore not a specific "tribal" or regional designation. They call themselves "Tenaynah," however, an equally confusing variant of "Tanaina" (Cook Inlet).

The Upper Kuskokwim Indians apparently recognize four sib names, although only three of these groups are found among them. These are:

1. Sťchelayu, “Fish [Tail?] People,” somehow associated with the lower Kuskokwim and Innoko Rivers.

2. Medzishťhu̇ťanah, “Caribou People,” or “people who live in caribou country.”

3. Tonay’tlil’tsitna, “middle kind,” or “People in the Middle.”

Hosley believes that the Upper Kuskokwim Indians originally had a moiety system, based upon the first two sibs. The third group represents "a category of convenience for the offspring of 'wrong' marriages and marriages to clans/ moieties not part of the Kolchan's original system" (Hosley, letter of 31/7/71). The latter seems to me to be the more correct explanation, and suggests that the "wrong" marriages were those with one or more foreign groups, with different moiety affiliations in their homeland. The process of shifting moiety affiliation when married into McGrath would explain how, according to Hosley's informants, there was a system whereby the offspring of the "Middle People" [or the "Middle People" themselves?] would eventually be assigned to the proper moieties.

4. Nalchina were mentioned by some of the McGrath Indians, but were felt to belong to the people of Lake Minchumina and Birch Creek, in the drainage of the lower Tanana.

Kutchin
The Kutchin are grouped into some eight divisions (Osgood 1934, 1936b):

1. Mackenzie Flats or Arctic Red River, Nakotcho-kutchin
2. Peel River, Tatlit-kutchin
3. Upper Porcupine, Tukkuth-kutchin (extinct)
4. Crow River, Middle Porcupine or “Rat” River, Vunta-kutchin
5. Black River, Tranjik-kutchin
6. Yukon Flats, Kutcha-kutchin
7. Chandalar River, Gens du large, Natsit-kutchin
8. Birch Creek, Tennuth-kutchin (extinct)

With the possible exception of the first group who live on the Mackenzie Flats, all information on groups 2 through 7 would indicate that they possessed three exogamous sibs. Presumably the Birch Creek (8) Kutchin did also, since they lived between the Chandalar and Yukon Flats Kutchin and the Koyukuk Indians who had matrilineal sibs.

Kirby (1864:418) is the first to mention the sibs:

1. Chit-sa, who are aristocratic and wealthy
2. Nate-sa, in the middle class

3. Tanges-at-sa, who are the poorest and lowest

These groups are matrilineal and exogamous, and the marriage rule "has had a most beneficial effect in allaying the deadly feuds formerly so frequent among them." The example he gives, however, is of two chiefs debating politely, each deploring his own inferiority, especially the chief of the group that admitted to a murder. In this way, amity was restored. One also gathers that the sibs were involved in funeral potlatching, for the "nearest relatives" of the deceased give a feast to his "friends," presumably to his paternal and affinal relatives. While we need not believe that peace was actually established through intermarriage of warring tribes, the institution of sib exogamy is commonly supposed by Athapaskans to achieve this effect, and potlatches were occasions on which sibs could settle disputes.

Jones (1866:326) only speaks of three "castes," formerly exogamous, as:

1. Tcit-che-ah

2. Nat-sah-i

3. Tenge-rat-sey

Hardisty (1866:315) also lists the three sibs, but adds that the natives give conflicting accounts of the origin of the three "castes." "Some say that it was so from the beginning; others that it originated when all fowls, animals, and fish were people -- the fish were Chitsah, the birds Tain-gees-ah-tsa, and the animals Nat-singh; some say that it refers to the country occupied by the three great nations who are supposed to have composed the whole family of man; while the other, and, I think, most correct opinion, is that it refers to color, for the words are applicable." Thus, we have the following:

1. Chitsah, bright (ah-tsa), from tsa, the sun, bright, shining. Live a good deal on fish; originated from fish.

2. Nat-singh, dark, black (ah-zingh). Live on reindeer; originated from animals. They are also associated with the Chandalar area of the Na-tsik-koo-chin, or Nah-tsi̇̀ngh.

3. Tain-gees-ah-tsah, neither dark nor fair, from middle (tain-gees). Live on fish and moose.

Now, according to Hardisty, amalgamation is changing the color differences, as well as preventing feuds between the groups, since a man wants to be at peace with his sons -- who would, of course, belong to his wife's kin group. Even though there cannot be differences in complexion, we have seen that the notion that there are physical, or even psychological, differences between sibs is typically Athapaskan.

For the Chandalar Kutchin, McKennan (1965:60-61) also records three sibs, linked together by reciprocities in marriage and funerals.

1. JɪtsA, who had a servile role, were supposed to be smallest in stature, and lightest in skin color, though some informants denied the last.

2. NAtsAi, who were wealthy and important.

3. TEnjErAtsAi, “between two sides.” Intermediate in stature and color.

This third sib seems to have been added later to a moiety system, although some informants said that the children of endogamous marriages in either of the other sibs were assigned to the third, while others, correctly, I think, denied this.

One myth ascribes the origin of the sibs from a fish: NAtsAi (2) from the head; TEnjErAtsAi (3) from the middle; and JɪtsA (1) from the tail. Another explains the origin through migrations: JɪtsA (1) came from a region called KuhEli, reported as between Cook Inlet and the Kuskokwim, and crossed the lower Tanana to reach the Chandalar area. The name of this region is clearly that of the "Fish Tail" sib, KIʼkElyu. NAtsAi (2) came to the Chandalar from the Kobuk hills of the Brooks Range, crossing the territory of the "Dihai Kutchin." TEnjErAtsAi (3) may have come up the Yukon from the territory of the Koyukon.

The JɪtsAi were formerly the most numerous, but now the NAtsAi are. There never were many TEnjErAtsAi, it is said, although most marriages were endogamous. This would discredit the explanation that this third sib was made up of children of endogamous marriages in the other two; at any rate, it was also matrilineal.

Working among the same people (Netsi Kutchin of Chandalar River), Hadleigh-West (1963:26) recorded four names for sibs:

1. Jɪt sya

2. Nat sai^{n}

3. Ten jɪr at sya

4. Tse nilt sai^{n}

He believed, however, that only the first two were true kinship units, while the third and fourth were said to be "names applied to children of intra-sib marriages." They were not sibs, "but rather terms

applied to offspring of 'wrong' marriages. Of the two terms, Tse nilt sai^{n} was the more derogatory" (Hadleigh-West 1963:26-27). He felt that the system was really a moiety one.

For the Vunta Kutchin of Crow River, Osgood (1936b:122-123) reports three exogamous matrilineal sibs:

1. Tc$\underline{I}$t tc$\underline{I}$ a, “those under the other fellow,” who supposedly have darker skins.

2. Non tsa$\underline{I}$ $\underline{I}$, first among the clans, with a light skin.

3. T$\underline{E}$n dj$\underline{E}$ $\underline{R}$a tsi a, “those in the middle,” whose skin is supposed to be intermediate in color. No chiefs are drawn from this group, only from the first two. They are supposed to have “relatives on both sides.”

As part of the system of reciprocity between sibs, we note that a hunter of sib 1 gives his game to a man of sib 2, and the reverse, for distribution at a feast. If game is given to a man of sib 3, there is no feast, or only a small one.

For the Vunta Kutchin, Leechman (1954:27, 32) lists the "phratries" as:

1. Jitsa (servants)

2. Nasich, who are the highest.

3. Tangeratsa, lowest of all.

According to Leechman, the first two sibs, in the old days, formed two exogamous moieties, while the third sib is said to have been made up of descendants of irregular marriages between members of the same sib; yet, or except for this, descent is matrilineal. The two main sibs are now almost without functions, since "the old rule of exogamy is often disregarded now, and the children of parents of the same phratries, either Nasich or Jitsa, are technically Tangeratsa." The same is said to be the case of a child adopted by a mother in the wrong sib. "A Tangeratsa could marry either a Nasich or a Jitsa, and here again the children would belong to the mother's phratry." We should note that at public gatherings, the "... phratries talk against each other." This is apparently "cross phratry joking," but the Tangeratsa were not permitted to take part in such oratory or joking. At present, at least, the sibs have nothing to do with funerals.

Balikci (1963:62-63) writes about the Vunta or Crow River Kutchin as follows:

> Osgood described the functioning in traditional times of a three clan system. These were non-localized matrilineal sibs. Reconstructing sib organization, I found only two named and ideally exogamous moieties, the third segment grouping descendants of endogamous

> marriages. These moieties had leaders within the band district. Besides regulating marriages, moieties were important in the organization of potlatches (similar to the Tlingit festivities) and war parties.

Referring to leaders, he adds:

> The Vunta Kutchin had a succession of polygynous tribal chiefs, economic leaders (owners of the caribou surrounds), moiety chiefs, war captains and religious leaders or shamans who acted on behalf of the whole community in crisis periods.

The data Balikci collected on marriage and extramarital relations prove clearly the demoralized condition of the Vunta Kutchin. My impression is, that unless genealogical evidence can be cited establishing the actual assignment of children of intra-sib unions to the "middle" group (3), the statements of Vunta Kutchin informants about the sib system cannot be trusted to explain how it really worked in the past. The statements about moiety endogamy probably refer to the addition of the third sib which was really allied to one of the resident moieties in theory, but which was allowed to marry with both because it was composed of strangers, without actual relatives in either. The explanation given by modern informants sounds like a "folk" explanation for something they do not understand. Among the Atna, for example, where the principles of sib and moiety exogamy are thoroughly understood, though not always practiced, the children of an irregular union always belong to the sib of the mother. The same is true among the Nabesna of the upper Tanana.

McKennan's informants at Circle (1965:61), who were presumably Yukon Flats Kutchin, made the following equations of Kutchin sibs with those of other groups:

1. Jitsa = Seagull or J̲ɪ̲tsil of the Han; J̲ɪ̲tcilyu of Healy River (Upper Tanana); Wolf or Agundené of the Northern Tutchone.

2. Natsai = Crow or NE̲ɪ̲tsin of the Han, Healy River and other upper Tanana groups; Andit or Crow of the Tutchone.

3. TE̲njeratsai = no equivalent

Osgood (1936b) and Slobodin (1962) give us further information about the Peel River Kutchin, who were also neighbors of the Han and Tutchone. Osgood lists the sibs as:

1. Tcitc ya nut, Wolf, associated with servant
2. Naˑts saɭ̲ɪ̲ˋ, Crow, associated with rich man

3. TR̲E̲ njɭ̲ɪ̲ R̲a tsɭ̲ɪ̲a, associated with the idea of “a friend on each side,” that is, being “in the middle.” But it is considered as being inferior to the other two.

While the name of the first sib suggests that of the "red paint" (tcic) sibs among the Atna, Tanaina, and Nabesna, the Kutchin word for red paint is saI̲ʻ (the ending of the name for the second sib), and red paint is associated with wealth. Nevertheless sib 1 is clearly the etymological equivalent of Tcicyu in the Seagull Moiety A, just as sib 2 is equivalent to N̲A̲ltsina in Crow Moiety B. Osgood believes that the associations of these Peel River Kutchin sibs with “crow” and “wolf” are recent, due to contacts with Athapaskans who reflect Tlingit influence. While the sibs are exogamous, and marriage is permitted between any two, there is definitely the idea of duality.

> I have at times, during my conversation with members of the Peel River Kutchin tribe, felt that there is a bilateral division of clans among them -- that is, two clans more closely related in contrast to the third. The idea does not seem altogether strange to informants but under examination no proofs are forthcoming to support this view (Osgood 1936b:107).

Slobodin (1962:44-45) also noted among the Peel River Kutchin the presence of three sibs, ranked as "upper," "lower," and "middle." According to the natives, the upper is the chiefly one and the middle one is so insignificant that it is almost a moiety system. Chiefs have, however, come from all three sibs, and the middle one is now second in size. The physical and psychological characteristics traditionally associated with the sibs are only subjects for joking. Slobodin furthermore felt that the sibs were recent institutions, functioning primarily in relation to the more western tribes from whom they were copied, that they were becoming obsolete, but were reinforced by the revival of potlatching during the boom days of the Gold Rush. Even here, alignment was often on a band basis, rather than on sib lines, and poor young people from eastern bands would be treated as guests, no matter who gave the potlatch. The last practice was not uncommon a generation ago on the upper Tanana when strange young men visited them from the Copper River. In contrast to the eastern Kutchin, the western Kutchin, Han, and Tutchone seem to have been recognizing an increasing importance of sibs, as other forms of social organization disintegrated. Slobodin (1962:45, note 1) comments on the disgusted reaction of a Peel River informant when visiting the Southern Tutchone, for "As soon as these people meet you, they ask, 'Are you a Wolf or a Crow?"'

Han

Cornelius Osgood has very kindly supplied me with some proofs for his forthcoming work on the Han.

When he was at Moosehide in 1932, a Peel River Kutchin man was able to give him information about the Han, who had three exogamous matrilineal sibs, which he named as:

1. Its yA̲, people who act funny
2. NA̲t I̲, proud people
3. TA̲ nžI R̲A̲ tsA̲, middle people

He denied that the ''Whitehorse'' terms for Wolf and Crow applied to these sibs. Nevertheless, it would appear to me that his sib 1 corresponds to an Atna or Nabesna Seagull sib, either the Red Paint or the Caribou People, while sib 2 is the Crow NA̲ltsina.

Osgood's two informants at Eagle gave the names:

1. Či čel
2. NA̲ ts̲I̲n, sometimes called “Crow.”
3. TA̲n z̲I̲ RA̲ ts̲I̲l, or TA̲ ndu A̲ ts̲I̲l, “middle;” or E gU̲n yA̲.

These two men, while giving somewhat different terms for the third sib, specified that the sibs were divided into moieties, although they could not agree as to whether sib 1 or sib 2 stood alone. How could either, if sib 3 is really a "middle" one, marrying both? At any rate, sibs 1 and 2 had married. I believe that this sib 1 corresponds to the Atna or Nabesna Fish Tail sib of the Seagull moiety; sib 2 is clearly the Crow NA̲ltsina. The last name for sib 3 (E gU̲n yA̲) suggests the Tutchone name for the Wolf moiety; as strangers, these "Wolves" would be treated as "middle people.

The Han moieties potlatched to each other after a death, and were distinguished by the way they wore feathers in their hair: sib 2 wearing theirs on the right side of the head; sib 1 in the middle of the front or back of the head. Sibmates offered each other protection and hospitality when travelling.

Osgood adds that 30 years later a Dawson informant told Slobodin that the Han had three exogamous moieties:

1. KE̲ kut’I̲n, meaning “low”
2. NA̲ tsA̲I̲, a higher people; tsA̲I̲ means “red paint.”
3. A gon d^{y}A̲ (untranslated) were “on the other side.”

This last term is obviously the same as the Northern Tutchone name for the ''Wolf'' moiety. The same informant also contrasted NA̲ tsA̲I̲ (2) and Ezan. Are these last the same as McKennan's Atzan´ne, sib B4 of the Upper Tanana?

Sib 2, evidently the equivalent of Naltsina, would be ''Crow,'' and therefore opposite to sib 3 A gon d^{y}A̲ as ''Wolf,'' but not to Atzan´ne or ’AɬtsE̲tdE̲ndei (B4) who would be also ''Crow'' on the Upper Tanana. Possibly there were several foreign sibs among the Han, from both the Northern Tutchone and the Upper Tanana, aligned with one local sib or the other, or serving as ''middle people.'' I do not know

what would be the equivalent of sib 1, K̲E̲ kut’l̲n, unless possibly they are the mysterious Snow Bird sib, Kii’k̓yu, mentioned at Tetlin as an extinct Seagull group.

Summary

To summarize the sibs represented among the Lower Tanana, Upper Kuskokwim, Koyukuk, and Yukon tribes, we have:

Lower Tanana, Nenana
- Caribou
- Fish Tail
- Red Paint as middle

Minto
- Caribou, and/or Beaver
- Fish Tail, and/or Red Paint
- Naltsina as middle

Koyukon: Tanana Mission
- Caribou
- Naltsina (Maggot?)
- Fish Tail as middle

Ruby-Lowden-Galena
- Caribou, high class, light colored
- Naltsina (Black or Brown?) Bear, poor
- Fish, as middle (of river)

Koyukuk Station
- Caribou
- Naltsina, Black Bear, or Copper
- Marten, Out-of-the-water (cf. Atna B6), dentalia, as middle

Nulato
- Caribou, light colored, good
- Naltsina, Bear, bad
- Middle people

Upper Koyukuk (Koyukuk River)
- Caribou
- Naltsina, iron, bear or copper
- Dentalium people, as middle (of water)

Steven's Village
Caribou
Naltsina, or "Multiplyers"
Middle People

Upper Kuskokwim, McGrath
Caribou
Fish Tail Middle People
And? Naltsina

Among the Kutchin it is difficult from an etymological point of view to tell whether their sib 1 is Fish Tail or Red Paint. Nevertheless, when equations are made, this sib is correlated with the Seagulls of the Nabesna and the Wolves of the Tutchone; just as sib 2 is classed as Crow.

Kutchin, 1864
(Red Paint-Fish Tail) highest class
Naltsina, middle class
Middle people, lowest and poorest

Kutchin, 1866
(Fish) bright color, from fish
Naltsina, dark, from animals
From birds, as middle

Chandalar Kutchin
Fish Tail, servile, shortest and lightest in color
Naltsina, wealthy, darkest and tallest, from fish head
Middle, from middle of fish

Vunta Kutchin
(Fish Tail-Red Paint), dark, servants
Naltsina, light, aristocratic
Middle, intermediate in color, lowest class

Peel River Kutchin
(Red Paint-Fish Tail), low class, (Wolf)
Naltsina, rich, (Crow)
Middle People

Han
(Red Paint or Caribou?), or Fish Tail, or K̲E̲ kut ‘l̲n, “low”
Naltsina, rich (Crow)

Middle, or “Wolf” in N. Tutchone, (and / or ezan)

Thus, we see how the social positions of the sibs shift, as well as the identities of the groups represented in the different settlements.

Despite the oft-cited and apparent tripartite appearance of this form of social organization, I believe that a fundamental principle of duality underlies it, just as it does the sib systems of the Atna-Tanaina-Nabesna group and that of the Tutchone-Tagish-Tahltan, but among the Yukon River peoples the intermarriages between small local groups have not only produced extensive equations of sibs across socio-linguistic boundaries, but have also introduced anomalous "middle" groups, the identity of which shifts from place to place, and presumably also through time as they become absorbed by one side or the other and new strangers marry into the band.

McKennan informs me that the late Valery Chernetsov of Moscow wrote to him (2/8/66) reporting the existence of a two-clan or patrilineal moiety system in the eastern Urals, with equation of the clans among the various tribes of Ob-Ugrians (Vogul and Ostyak), and Samoyed (Nenetz, Selkup, Enetz, and Woodland Samoyed). The system has apparently spread across the language barrier to the Ket (so-called Yenisei-Ostyak). The Woodland Samoyed, as well as the eastern Nenetz-Samoyed, also have a third intermediate clan, not equated with those of other tribes. Such third clans are called "out-of-clan-marriage-groups." Evidently dynamic factors, similar to those that produced the "middle groups" among the Alaskan Athapaskans, have been at work among the distant patrilineal Samoyed.

Conclusion

The dynamics of the northwestern American sib-moiety/phratric systems can better be understood when seen against the background of a sibless society. As an example of Athapaskan social organization without sibs, we may turn to the Hare of the Mackenzie drainage (Sue 1964). Here relatives are reckoned bilaterally, kindred are "ego-centered," and people live in small extended family camps. Nevertheless, the stress on cross-cousin marriage effectively divides relatives into two opposed groups as far as the individual is concerned. Even though the Hare seldom practice what they preach and more often than not fail to marry a cross-cousin (June Helm, personal communication), the system operates as if they did. Thus, to a Hare man, his mother's brother and father's sister's husband are potential fathers-in-law and called by a single term, while his father's sister and mother's brother's wife are potential mothers-in-law, again grouped under one term. Their daughters, other than his actual wife, are his joking relatives, as are his sisters-in-law, while their sons, like his brothers-in-law, are treated with reserve. Parallel cousins are classed with siblings, and behavior between those of opposite sex is characterized by reserve and aloofness. The Hare also distinguish between primary kin (parents, full siblings, children, and spouse) and "relatives," who include grandparents, grandchildren, uncles, aunts, and cousins. It is members of this more distant group who bury one's primary kin.

Sue has shown that for a man, those with whom he is most intimate, most apt to share a camp, to rely upon or to help, are his male relatives related through males. Similarly, sisters are closer to each other than are brother and sister, and a woman's closest relatives are women related to her through the female line, even when these include such distant cousins as descendants of her mother's mother's mother's sisters.

A consistent grouping together of such male patrilineal relatives, through inheritance of common property, perhaps the exclusive right to exploit the same terrain or to utilize the same inherited magico-religious powers, might have produced conditions propitious for the transformation of these male kinsmen into patrilineages. But this obviously has not taken place. Similarly, common residence of sisters, mothers and daughters, as would be and is required by extended bride-service, or again by inherited property in the hands of women, perhaps caches of preserved foods, could form the basis for the development of matrilineage.

These lines are, in any case, so closely related as to be exogamous. The social groups are small and scattered, and since strangers are viewed with suspicion, it is the cross-cousin in another camp who is both far enough away to be marriageable and yet close enough to be trusted. Reciprocal relations that are established between those who are kin linked through marriage, such as mutual services at life crises, e.g. care of the newborn, naming, puberty, childbirth or couvade, sickness, and death, if consistently carried out by cross relatives, would create that fundamental duality, essential to a moiety system. For in any situation of this kind there would inevitably be two sides in collaboration and opposition. Then, as members of other families are included, as they would be in such social events, these would tend to be drawn into two parties at the feasts, as hosts or givers, and as guests or receivers. This reciprocity is essential, also, to any sib system.

I do not know whether the eastern Athapaskans are to be considered as those who never developed sibs or moieties, or whether they are peoples who have lost such exogamous units. But I believe that matrilineal exogamous kin groups are ancient in the west. It would seem to take very little to transform the social organization of a people like the Hare from one based on bilateral kindreds to one of interlocking and reciprocating unilineages.

Such factors as cross-cousin marriage, extended bride-service to a father-in-law who is terminologically a "mother's brother," resulting in more or less lengthy matrilocal and avunculocal residence, the choice of same sex cross-cousins or siblings-in-law as hunting or trading partners, the control by women of important caches of food, the deep affection and respect felt by men for their mothers noted by Guédon at Tetlin, could all be effective in creating or preserving matrilineal kin groups.

Obviously something is present in the west which is not found east of the continental divide. Perhaps it is the variety of ecological resources within the territories of related bands among the western Athapaskans as contrasted with the relative uniformity to the east. Western Athapaskan economy is based upon the ability to exploit all the available micro-environments in the short distances that

separate lake, river, marsh, and mountain, and the social organization is adjusted to facilitate the movement of individual families, not only within the territory of their own band, but to caribou fences, sheep licks, or fishing places in any area where they can join a relative. McClellan (1964:9) has pointed out that the institution of matrilocal bride-service has the advantage of acquainting the hunter with at least one other area than the one in which he grew up. A sib system which permits the equation of lineages across band or even dialectical "tribal" boundaries is, however, an ideal way of insuring the presence of kinsmen and partners wherever one travels and thereby widens the possible areas a hunter can exploit.

Among the western Athapaskans, it is not the band, but the small local segment that has become the sib (or the localized section of the sib) because exogamous marriages with neighbors are necessary and profitable. Such groups are known for their places of residence or for the residence of their leader; they may be named for the kinds of animals or other resources most characteristic of their homes, or for some characteristic feature of clothing or other possessions. These groups, in any given region, become aligned into moieties because of the consistency with which their members contract unions. But the sibs themselves, as bodies of kinsmen, remain fundamental to the social system. At any given time, in any given place, for any given married couple and their kin, the dual arrangement of opposites is established. But the moiety system remains fluid, because it is in essence a way of arranging individuals, and is not, as we too conveniently say or are inclined to think, a fundamental super-group that is subdivided into sibs. Therefore, because sibs die out or are fanned through fission, because they can shift their alignments as members move to new areas, we have "middle" groups, or sibs retaining names which suggest that they once belonged to the "other side," but are here "wrongly" affiliated. Here a purely "structural analysis" would be deceptive.

From the names and characteristics ascribed traditionally to these sibs have arisen the crests and other features made possible by the wealth of the coast. But the elaboration of sib ceremonialism on the Northwest Coast has blinded both interior peoples and ethnologists into accepting the crest system as the most important feature which indicates the place of origin and direction of diffusion of the entire complex system. Crests and other prerogatives to be validated by lavish giving could only have developed on the well-to-do coast, and the interior Indians, conscious of their poverty and lack of sophistication, have adopted these crest-prerogatives as far as they could, anxious to claim relationship with their superior neighbors. In turn, the emigration of interior groups to the Eyak, Tlingit, and Tsimshian has stimulated the elaboration of crests and sibs among these peoples as they absorbed the newcomers. So it is at the mouths of the great rivers coming from the interior that we find the most complete results of this process.

But this does not mean that the matrilineal kin groups originated on the Taku, Skeena, and Nass. Indeed, the pattern of exogamous matrilineages seems so widespread and takes such characteristically inland forms in the interior, that it would appear to be ancient, antedating the earlier migration of the Nadene Tlingit and Haida to their coastal homes, or the appearance of the alien Tsimshian in the northwest. Whereas the Tlingit and Haida have preserved what must have been the old dual arrangement, the very confusions produced by migrations and minglings on the Nass and

Skeena have been responsible for creating the Tsimshian four-phratry system. This probably once involved more than four exogamous units, if such groups as On-the-Beaver, On-the-Ocean, and Fireweed, for example, were originally distinct from On-the-Wolf, On-the-Eagle, Raven, Bear, Killerwhale, etc. Indeed, the Carrier multiple sib system suggests this pattern.

The names of crests symbolic of many of the groups also argue their interior origin. Thus, the Golden Eagle of the mountains became the Fish Hawk or mysterious Mother of the Thunderbird among the southern Tlingit unfamiliar with this eagle. The white-headed Bald Eagle of the coast naturally replaced the white Seagull so conspicuous along inland rivers. And Raven himself is only the Little Old Crow of the Athapaskans, made great. It can hardly be a coincidence that this "grandfather" of so many kin groups, this famous Trickster-Transformer of mythology, is no longer to be considered an immigrant from northeastern Asia to the Northwest Coast, from which news of his exploits have filtered to the interior and to the Eskimo. Rather, as Chowning (1962) has demonstrated, he is an invention of the Athapaskans. Thus the Wolf and the Raven (or Crow), like Bear, Beaver, Marten, Seagull, Fireweed, and the matrilineal groups for which they serve as designations, were not born on the Northwest Coast, but in the heartland of the western Athapaskans.

The origins of these symbols or crests are ascribed to the supernatural adventures of the ancestors, similar to those which endow a shaman with his powers. Even though the ancestors who found the baby among the caribou or encountered the bear or put the fireweed in their hair are not specified as shamans, it must be remembered that for the Athapaskans almost every old person is considered to be something of a shaman. The importance of birds as crests suggests Siberian analogies. Not only are birds the familiars of the Siberian shaman, but his costume transforms the man into a bird. Important also as guardian spirits are the bear, the reindeer, and the fish (Michael 1963). It may be no coincidence that these creatures are almost universally associated with the most important matrilineal kin groups among the Athapaskans of Alaska and the Yukon.

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Volume 02, Issue 2 Autumn 2021 / Winter 2022 Pages 133 - 141

Matrix: A Journal for Matricultural Studies

https://www.networkonculture.ca/activities/matrix

This article was originally published in *Arctic Anthropology*, Volume 43, No. 2 (2006), pp. 14-19. This is a REPRINT of that article, with permission of the author.

This is Kuxaankutaan's (Dr. Frederica de Laguna's) Song

CHEW SHAA (ELAINE ABRAHAM), PhD, and JUDITH RAMOS, MAT

Abstract

From 1949 to 1954, Dr. Frederica Annis de Leo de Laguna, then Chair of Sociology and Anthropology, Bryn Mawr College, recorded from our Yakutat elders the history and culture of the Yakutat Tlingit. This paper describes the other side of Freddy, as an adopted clan member who was fascinated with Tlingit music. In the dedication to the song, she acknowledged Olaf Abraham (Elaine's father) from whom she learned methods of composing Tlingit songs. With the help of John Ellis, a Gineix Kwaan / Kwaashk'i Kaagwaantaan man, Freddy composed this song in honor of the Yakutat people.

Keywords: Yakutat Tlingit, Frederica de Laguna, potlatch, adopted family

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Résumé

De 1949 à 1954, Dr. Frederica Annis de Leo de Laguna, alors directrice du département de sociologie et d'anthropologie à Bryn Mawr College, enregistra l'histoire et la culture des Tlingit de Yakutat par la voix de leurs ainés. Ce texte-ci décrit un autre aspect de Freddy (comme l'appellent les gens de Yakutat). Fascinée par la musique Tlingit, et membre adoptif d'un clan local, elle composa ce chant cérémoniel en l'honneur des gens de Yakutat, avec l'aide de John Ellis, un homme appartenant au Gineix Kwaan / Kwaashk'i Kaagwaantaan, Dans sa dédicace, elle remercie Olaf Abraham (le père d'Elaine Abraham) qui lui enseigna comment composer ce genre de chant.

Mots clefs: Yakutat Tlingit, Frederica de Laguna, potlatch, famille adoptive

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Introduction

Xan Kootaan (Freddy's Tlingit name, short for Kuxaankutaan) composed a song in Tlingit for the people of Yakutat. The song was in honor of the children of the Gineix Kwaan, a clan of the Raven moiety[1] that owns and occupies the Yakutat area, and of Luknaxadi, a Raven clan from the Dry Bay area. She finished the song just before she left Yakutat the summer of 1954, when the ethnological research that she started in 1949 in Yakutat was completed.

In 1986 my mother, Susie Bremner Abraham, invited Freddy to attend her granddaughter Sharon Goodwin's memorial potlatch. A potlatch is usually held a year after burial to "pay off" a clan's obligation's to the opposite moiety. Freddy was pleased and came several days before the memorial potlatch. While the family prepared for the ceremony, my mother informed us that Freddy would open the "pay off" portion of the potlatch by singing the song she had composed. Freddy was excited and yet nervous about her clan role. She began humming her song, then whispered to me, (see Image 1) "My dear educated granddaughter in the western and Tlingit world, did you think I went native with the song?" I replied, "Of course, we all know you are Tlingit."

Image 1: Chew Shaa (Elaine Abraham). Photograph courtesy of Judy Ramos.

When a person is adopted and given a name the adoption and naming is validated at a public ceremony so guests can be witnesses. My mother wanted to validate Freddy's adoption by Katy Dixon Isaac into the Gineix Kwaan clan of Raven Moiety and the name Katy Dixon gave her, Katy's own personal name, Kuxaankutaan. The Gineix Kwaan is also known in Yakutat as the Kwaashk'i Kwaan clan, from when the clan bought Humpy Creek in Yakutat Bay. Freddy was also to be adopted into the Moon House. Because Katy Dixon Isaac[2] was an elderly matriarch of the clan, her adoption of Frederica was unquestioned but un-validated.

Freddy's Song

Freddy's favorite birdsong was the Golden-crowned Sparrow's song. The tune to the song she composed was inspired by this bird, *Shakida Tinna*, the Golden-crowned Sparrow (*Zonotrichia aticapilla*). Although she identified more than a dozen Yakutat songbirds, she adored what she

[1] Tlingit are divided into matrilineal moieties, clans, and houses. Children belong to their mother's clan, so this reference is to the father's clan.

[2] Tlingits believe in reincarnation. Katy Dixon Isaac was reborn as Katie Lord, the daughter of Nellie Lord of the Moon House.

referred to as “the most beautiful sparrow,” with a golden crown and with black stripes on the side of the crown. Most of all she enjoyed its song.

Image 2: JOM Mr. St. Elias Dancers. Left to right, front row: Martha Mallot and Sylvia Schumacker; 2nd row: Kalen Adams and Maka Monture (Judy Ramos' daughter); 3rd row: Nathan Bremner, Kai Monture (Judy Ramos' son), Sharnel Vale, and Kirsten Slate; 4th row: J.P. Buller, Alin Vale, Shane Brown, and Tim Brown. Photograph courtesy of Yakutat Tlingit Tribe.

The winter of 1954, Freddy’s last spring in Yakutat, was a good year for songbirds. My parents, who also enjoyed the bird’s song, said there were more birds than usual that spring. The birds arrived in March and congregated in the back of their house among the spruce, alders, and willow trees that were also near Freddy’s rented house. Early in the morning, my father would go outside to chop wood or get water from the lake behind Freddy’s house. She would be out on the side of the house replenishing the bird feeder. Sometimes when a bird would start singing, Freddy would come running out with her recorder. My mother said that it always brought a smile to my father, a man that was known in the community not to show any emotion. Some of the birds she recorded that spring include: the Varied Thrush, the Song Sparrow, the Yellow-crowned Sparrow, the Yellow Warbler, and the Robin.

At a celebration sponsored by Sealaska, the regional Native corporation for Southeast Alaska, Freddy was honored for her work. She sat in one of the front row seats whenever her “grandchildren,” the Mount Saint Elias Dancers, were going to dance (see Image 2). She cheered louder than anyone, however she lamented to me that all her old Tlingit teachers from Yakutat had passed on to the spirit world. With tears in her eyes, she added, “now all my grandchildren are orphans,” nodding toward the dancing children, she added with pride, “but look at them now.”

In her article “Field Work with My Tlingit Friends” she wrote:

> After Olaf’s death, Susie invited me to visit her on my way home from Copper River, and I brought her a blanket I’d been given at a potlatch, which pleased her. But our last reunion was when I attended the potlatch she gave in 1986. At that time I got to know and appreciate her daughter, Elaine Abraham, who acted as Susie’s “executive officer” in charge of the complicated logistics of the ceremony. Susie suffered from a bad heart, and Elaine was most solicitous. All of “our” clan, including myself, were taught a few songs and simple dances, but Elaine’s pretty daughter, Judy Ramos, and her son

David Ramos, costumed alike, performed an impressive shaman's dance. (de Laguna 2000)

Image 3: Susie Abraham (l) and Freddy de Laguna (r) at Sharon Goodwin's memorial potlatch. Photograph courtesy of Eva Sensmeier.

Image 4: Judy Ramos and her daughter Maka. Photograph courtesy of Judy Ramos.

This was the night Freddy sang her song for the first time in Yakutat, and the applause lasted a long time. Thus she opened the "pay off" time and the "happy time" at her clan's potlatch (see Image 3).

Ten years later, when David Ramos was doing an internship in research and care of collections at the National Museum of American Indian in New York, he went to Bryn Mawr College outside Philadelphia to see Gram X̲akootan. It was a surprise visit, yet as soon as she saw him she

recognized him, greeting him with a hug and speaking in Tlingit, *ax dachxank'*, *goosu ee tlaa* (my grandchild, where is your mother?). She took David to lunch introducing him as her grandchild.

When Judy Ramos (see Image 4) received her Bachelor's and Master's degrees, Freddy was also proud of her. When Judy did a Traditional Ecological Knowledge study on salmon for the Yakutat Tlingit Tribe, Judy wrote to her for advice. Freddy wrote back:

> Dear Judy, of course I know who you are. Your grandparents were among the great leaders of the Yakutat and some of the nicest people I know. You are undertaking too much, I think in your studies. Please remember that you are to explain the Native ways of thinking about territorial rights, fishing and all the other topics on your list. Give up the jargon of "resource management." That is the white man's way of thinking about such matters. If you could only consult "Under Mount Saint Elias" you would see that the Tlingit and other Native peoples felt that they were in one world with the plants and animals and fish. (de Laguna 2001)

Grandma Xankootan composed and recorded a song in 1954 (see Image 5) to honor her clan and the people of Yakutat. Her song, translated below from Tlingit into English, will always be part of the clan's oral tradition. Her memory will live on; at her clan's potlatches when "fire dishes" are brought out, her name will be called: "Kuxaankutaan, Kuxaankutaan."

Kuxaankutaan's Song

To the People of Yakutat:
Song for Ginexqwaan-Children and Tl'uknaxadi-Children[3]

Composed by Frederica de Laguna

Yaci kwaxwhei yici 'aya. Łdakat Kwackqwan-yatxi qa Tl'uknaxadi-yatxi qa Tlukwaxadi-yatxi dadax 'aya, kwxwhei 'aya. Kunxanguwutan xa ciyi.

This song is for all Kwackqwaan-children and Tl'uknaxadi-children and Tlukwaxadi-children. It is Kuxaankutaan's song.

Whereas Yakutat birds are supposed to have learned their songs from those of human beings, I have based my melody upon the song of the golden-crowned sparrow. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to John Ellis for his assistance with the words.

[3] The explanation and the song were composed by Frederica de Laguna and were first published in the third volume of *Under Mount Saint Elias* (De Laguna 1972: 1362-63). Elaine Abraham has a recording of this song as sung by de Laguna. She has transcribed it for this article and has added to the translation by de Laguna. De Laguna and Abraham have used different orthographies.

♪=116
C#

Refrain:

Ha ya ha ya ya ya ha-ni ha-ya
Ha ya ha ha ya ha ya ye ya he ha ya ha.
He ya ha ya ha ya ha ya ha ya ha ha ya ha
Ha ya ha he ha hay ha ya hee—A-ni ‘a—ya yee a-ni ‘a—ye

Stanza I (sung twice):

Ha ya ha ya ye, Ye Ha-ni ‘a Ya
Kawa Yikde quk’w ati ne –
(When I go away) To the unknown (space) (meaning the whole universe)

‘I da de tu wu nik o Ginexqwani yatxi
for you I am sad children of Gine<u>x</u>kwaan (clan)

‘ida tuwutc xat ku-qw’a-djaq -
longing for you will kill me

Tlaxayik de ts’uk’ quk’w qa – tin –
Inside Tla<u>x</u>ayik (Yakutat) I will look for (come again),

‘e ‘a-ni ‘a ya e’--- ‘ani ‘a--- ye –
this is your (land) dwelling, your dwelling

Stanza II (sung twice):

Ha ya he ha he he ‘a-ni ‘a –ya
a<u>x</u> gutch na qadjun-ne
My wolf (clan) I dream of

A<u>x</u> tu wu ‘a Łi ki, o TŁuk na <u>x</u>adi yat xi
My inner being you make well (happy), child of Łuknax<u>x</u>a.

di ‘u wa ya gagan ku gani
It is as if you are the sun beam (the sun is shining)

I yeŁi tuwu yi si gu
Your Raven you have made happy

‘e ‘ani ‘a ye ‘e ‘ani ‘aye
this is your land (universe)

End

Ha ya ha ya he he ‘ani ‘aya

1954, 4–2–B Frederica de Laguna's Song for Gɪnexqwan-Children and Tɬuknaxʌdi-Children
♩=118
C♯
Refrain
drum:
A
ha ya ha ya ya ya ha - ni ha - ya
B
etc.
C
ha ya ha ha ya ha ya ye ya he ha ya ha
D
E
he ya ha ya ha ya ha ya ha ya ha ha ya ha
F
G
ha ya ha he ya hay ha ya he-- 'a-ni 'a-- ya ye- 'a-ni 'a-- -ye
Stanza I (sung twice)
A
B
ha ya ha ya ye-- ye- ha-ni 'a - ya ka-wa-yik-de quk"-qa - ti - ne
C
D
E
'i - da-de tu-wu-nik c-Gi-nex-qwa-ni yat-xi 'i-da tu-wutc xat ku-q"a-djaq
F
G
Tɬa-xa-yik de tɬuk' quk"qa-tin 'e 'a-ni 'a -ya 'e--- 'a-ni 'a-- -ye

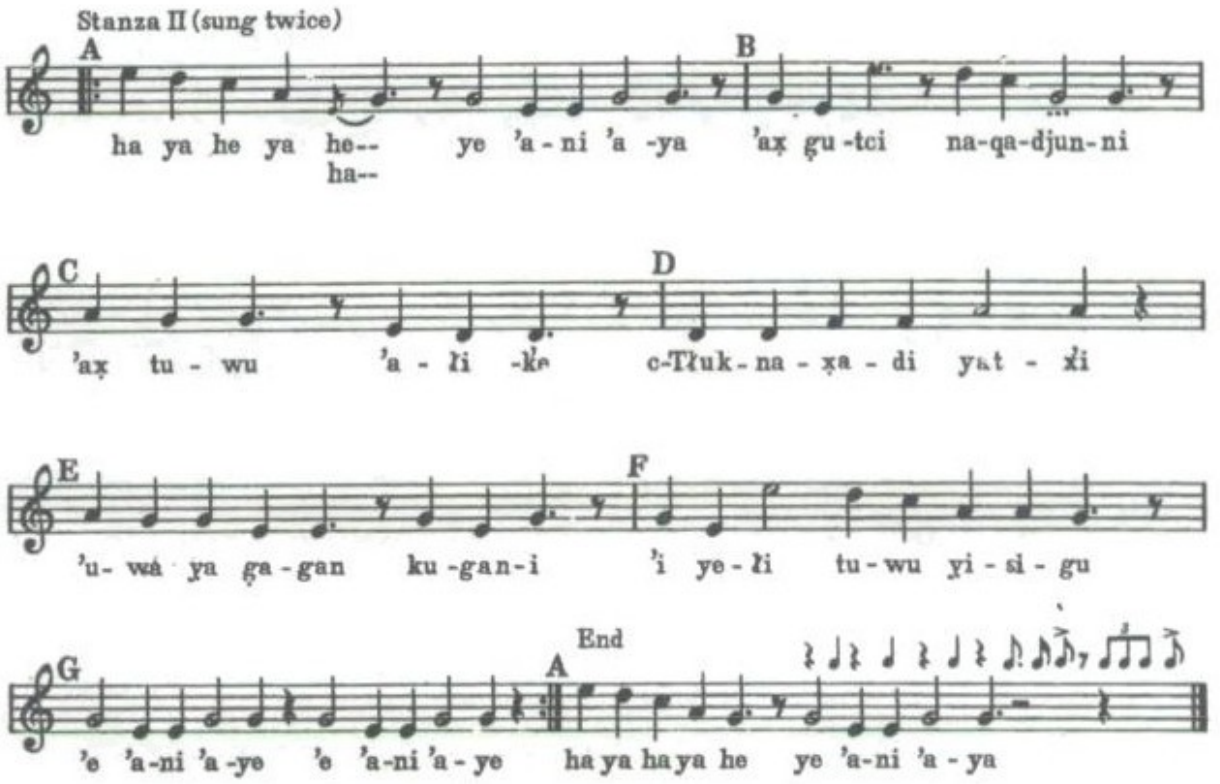

Image 5: The music score from De Laguna's Under Mount Saint Elias (1972: 1368-69). Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution Press.

Acknowledgments

We would like to acknowledge Elaine's father and mother, the late Olaf Abraham and Susie Bremner Abraham and Harry K. Bremner, Elaine's maternal uncle, for teaching Freddy and us the history, culture, and mythology of Yakutat's Tlingit.

Biography

Chew Shaa or Elaine Abraham is a retired professor from University of Alaska. She is the daughter of Olaf and Susie Abraham, the last surviving member of the Abraham family and also the niece of Harry K. Bremner.

Judith Ramos is Elaine's daughter. She works for the Yakutat Tlingit Tribe and has also collaborated on subsistence and Traditional Knowledge projects with the USDA Forest Service and the National Park Service.

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Matrix: A Journal for Matricultural Studies

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Together We Are a Net

DIANE L'XEIS' BENSON

Woven together with open spaces left in between… commonly describes a net. Netting being an industry, a craft, an art. It is also mathematical, scientific, a need in which to apply various knowledge, creativity and understanding of compounds, fiber, environmental reactions, and containment applications. In a way, this is true of relationships and cultural existence.

There are five of us – all Indigenous women with various shades and depths of graying hair and facial lines. We are grandmothers, either through lineage or cultural relationship. We are categorized as elders who sometimes call the Senior Center for a delivered meal or sign up for Petersburg Indian Association transit services. We either live with a partner or live alone. We live on an island where Tlingit traditional land use has somehow been conveniently ignored or forgotten by most and where the settlement of Petersburg was founded over a hundred years ago by Norwegian fishermen. We live here – in this Southeastern hamlet of nearly 3,000 residents – that a few tribal members from other villages have been known to snub for not being Native enough.

Image 1: Debra, Mary, and Marianne at group potluck

"Why are you moving there?" I was asked. "There must be all of what? Five Native people there?" Another person writes on social media, "I would have thought that you would have needed to be around more Native people." Although they may not know it, there are over two hundred Native people enrolled with Petersburg Indian Association alone. Petersburg or *Séet Ká* ('On the Channel') stretches along the Wrangell Narrows - or *Gánti Yaakw Séedi* (Steamboat Pass) as it also became known - and separates Mitkof Island from Kupreanof Island. Fish trap remnants and petroglyphs estimated to be

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over two thousand years old, speak to the historic use and occupancy of the area by the Tlingit people.

Each time I walk across the tidal flats, with shells and hardened wet sand beneath my feet towards the petroglyphs, I hear the whispers of ancient ones who marked these fishing territories long before the Norwegian arrival. Mitkof Island is near the mouth of the Stikine river, deep in the southeastern region of Alaska. It is still a traditional land use place; it is still filled with the spirit of the ancient ones who traveled to and through the Wrangell Narrows.

I see the humility of ancestors in the faces of my fellow Tlingit sisters, and the knowledge, stories, and laughter we gift each other on every encounter and know, somehow, that even though we have had different journeys, we are tied together.

Image 2: Talking with Mary

Mary Katasse-Miller, Tlingit name *Kaat'say* (named after her great Aunt from Klawock), is of the Raven moiety and of the *Taan Hít* (Sea Lion) House of the *Taakw.aaneidí* Clan; Mary Ann Rainey (*Kalḱech*) is the only Eagle of the five of us and is of the *Xeitl Hít* (Thunderbird House) of the *Wooshkeetaan* Clan. Our moieties are determined by our mother's side and this is the determinate factor in our matrilineal culture.

Jeannette Ness (*Kosh Kanaee*) is Raven and, as told by family, is of the Sockeye House of the *T'aḵdeintaan* Clan (Kittiwake or Sea Pigeon). Jeannette and I are delighted to find that we are both T'akdeintaan, although I am of the *Tax Hit* (Snail House). Debra O'Gara is also Raven and of the *Teey Hít* (Cedar Bark House) of the *Teeyhíttaan*, a clan that comes from *Ḵaachx̲aana.áak'w* (Wrangell).

Mary and Mary Ann have been in Petersburg the longest and are the oldest of the five of us at 75 and 77, respectively. They are of this land where Petersburg sits, with their childhoods shaped by the struggles of Tlingit survival in a Norwegian village. Mary is also tied to Ḵaachx̲aana.áak'w / Wrangell, a village where she was born that is slightly visible from Mitkof Island, if you stand near the top of a mountain facing southeast on a clear day. Unlike Petersburg, Wrangell's 2,300+ population is predominately Tlingit, even though it was also home to an Indian boarding school now long shut down. Petersburg and Wrangell are the primary communities within the *Shtax'héen Ḵwáan* (Bitter Water Tribe) region, meaning to say within an area understood to be of this traditional grouping of Tlingit people.

The people were rooted in place, and place rooted them in their matrilineal culture and cyclical relationship with each other, and the land.

Image 3: The joy of place in Tlingit Aani (Diane)

When Mary's mother contracted tuberculosis and was coughing up blood, as Mary remembers it, a social worker threatened to take her children away. They 'fled Wrangell.' Tuberculosis took its toll on Indigenous populations, including the cost to my own mother, yet Mary's mother went on to live to eighty-nine years of age. They moved around, first going to Sitka in 1950, to Craig on Prince of Wales Island for a year, and then Petersburg in 1960. Her father had a boat named *Garfield*, but it broke up one day, beaten by a storm and tossed onto the beach. The family of twelve made the journey across open waters from Sitka to Prince of Wales during another move, in a small 32-foot trawler. Mary remembers how her parents "always kept us together." Mary recounts that her father, from a clan in Kake (village on Kupreanof Island), could not ever remember his Social Security Number so he had it tattooed on his arm. She smiles over his ingenuity, and his dedication to his family. The times were challenging but the family stayed together.

Mary makes delicious fried eulachon, a small oily fish, and "crispies" (fried seal fat), as well as fry-bread that competes with the best of them. She raised a good sum selling fry-bread to assist a family in need. Word spread and townspeople lined up at her front door – it was that good. I ate a foot-long piece before I could collect the rest of the order; it was indulgent, but it was for a good cause, of course.

"My parents wanted us to go to school. That is what we did. All ten of us kids." Mary had two sisters, and seven brothers. The girls not only went to school to learn the 'white man's ways,' they also received traditional special training required for matrilineal obligations. She received guidance on food preparation, self-discipline, and intimate subjects like conception. Women were and are powerful by Tlingit tradition, as it is a matrilineal culture. Men that receive traditional instruction learn the values of true warrior strength and peacekeeping, and love of clan and family.

I let her know how lucky she was, and she agrees. I also share that I did not receive any training as my mother left me and three brothers when we were quite young, moved to the States and started another family. Somehow, she makes me laugh unexpectedly and I cannot help but appreciate how she is - growing up with very rigid instructions for Tlingit refinement - for Mary is, in these moments, the epitome of what it means to be Indigenous, even though she never learned to speak the Tlingit language.

Mary's parents' first language was Tlingit. Although they learned to speak English, her father never learned to write and this made him adamant that the children learn to function in the 'white world.' The solution was school. They all went on to build professional livelihoods in the 'white world.' She wishes she knew the language now. Nevertheless, her cultural existence is clearly present in her cooking, in her appreciation of Native foods and sharing, and in her sewing, as it is with Mary Ann.

Image 4: One of Mary Ann's many 'shawls'

Mary Ann has a prolific skill in regalia making and in her production of Christmas ornaments, wall hangings, collars (pictured) and vests – all designed with clan and other emblematic creations of Tlingit artistry. Her work hangs in the halls of the Petersburg Indian Association building and at the local arts store, Cedar Box. It is also seen on the 'shawls' she provides high school students for graduation day.

Humble, yet with a delightful laugh, she asks for clarity from me on Tlingit pronunciation. I too am not a fluent speaker, but I did have the privilege of living for periods in my youth with my grandparents in Sitka – a grandfather who would have me speak Tlingit before I could eat my breakfast. Grandma would admonish him:

"Do you want her to have a hard time of it?"

She believed that learning the language would only make my life more difficult. They would often whisper in the language during arguments, for fear that 'the white people' would hear them. They had attended schools where their mouths were washed out with soap or their knuckles spanked if they did not use English.

Mary Ann is appreciative when I can assist. Like all of them, I too wish that the Tlingit language flowed freely from our origins. But the little parts that each of us know of our traditional knowledge combine and weave together in such a way that we feel fulfilled.

Mary Ann knows her Tlingit name and how it was spelled but hesitates when saying it. “I’m still trying to learn to say it correctly,” she explains. She was born in Petersburg where her parents lived in an apartment in the old Reyes Building on the docks. It was in the place where the Kito’s Cave bar now exists, just off Sing Lee Alley. Mary Ann adds that there was a Chinese man named Sing Lee who ‘was murdered in that building.’ The building being the Reyes building where she was born.

Image 5: Jeanette and Mary Ann as we picnic on a rainy day

Mary Ann informs me that her grandfather was full- blooded Filipino and that her grandma was Tlingit and strong in the culture. “But they did not teach us the language; they would not even speak it in front of us…. It was the same with the Filipino language, they wanted us to keep with the English language.” Her voice changes as she contemplates,“Remember, ‘white only’… we could only sit in the balcony in the theatres…” Then adds, “…but they were the best place to sit!” Mary Ann may be humble, but carries a pronounced inner strength, “I would not let anyone treat me any different when I was a kid. I am who I am.” I marvel at her spirit and find that I often feel lifted and proud in her presence.

Image 6: Debra guiding Jeanette on skin-sewing

Jeanette, like Mary Ann, was born in Petersburg – her mother coming from *Hoonah*, the land of the *Xunaa K̲wáan* in the northern part of Southeast Alaska. Jeanette and Debra are the youngest of the five of us at 63. Jeanette has lived her life in Petersburg and serves on the Petersburg Indian Association (PIA) Council. She was part of the instrumental group that ensured the raising and care of two Tlingit totems that tower across the street from the city’s Borough Building. Debra and I are both the newcomers to Petersburg, arriving here in the summer of 2019. The job of Magistrate brought her here, and I came while I prepared for my last semester as a professor of Native studies. Petersburg was my retirement plan. I was not from here, but I fell in love with the place after burying my best friend here five years previous. It seemed fitting, since it is a Norwegian and Tlingit community, and I am both, my father Norwegian and my mother Tlingit. I immediately got roped into presenting on Elizabeth Peratrovich Day as I had

been known to perform the story of this iconic civil rights leader from our tribe and who happened to be from Petersburg. I met Debra a few weeks before at a garage sale and she promptly informed the Arts Council that I had moved to Petersburg. Presenting at this joyful event at the ANB Hall was a great way to become acquainted with the community and to help me cope with a recent loss.

Petersburg has an active Alaska Native Sisterhood (ANS) and an Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB), and they help lead the parade on Elizabeth Peratrovich Day 2020, along with the Tlingit dance group from K̲aachx̲aana.áak'w / Wrangell. The songs and drums fill the air, and Petersburg residents stop on the streets to watch – some joining in to march behind us. As we file into the hall we are greeted by the intoxicating aroma of baked salmon, fish eggs and other Tlingit cuisine delights. Although I wear a plain black headband rather than my beaded headpiece due to the great loss to my family, I am lifted by the smiles and laughter of us 'elder' women. I am now safely wrapped in the robe of ancestral presence that I feel moves around the room.

Image 7: Debra with her new weaving project

Debra reports that she is thinking of retiring. She will work on a PhD in Indigenous studies. Debra is remarkable. A truly gifted artist in her own right, she weaves with cedar bark and spruce roots that she herself harvests; she cleans Devil's Club stalks and makes beads from them that she gives away. Her beadwork is an act of love, as revealed in the traditional robe she wears, displaying its meaning for her clan, and because of it, the robe becomes *at.óow* – those things that carry spirit over time – regalia that is witness to events in cycles of time. We treat these things with great respect.

We find ourselves seated in the front row in the hall, now the older ones. It is clearly time to start settling in to this new role as elder. And that means laughter.

"Atsganée!" I reply to a joke and we all laugh. It means something like being scared or it is scary. The word feels good, because in it is a connection to our ancestors. There in the hall, as we become acquainted, our voices ring with laughter and will continue to do so throughout the year and into the next, as we get together for a picnic on a rainy day at Sandy Beach around a fire, walk on the bike path along the Wrangell Narrows, or share food like a dinner on the deck at my house or a potluck lunch downtown by the Sons of Norway Hall. Always the sharing of food.

Even with COVID it simply meant that we might only get together outdoors in pairs to harvest Devil's Club, pick berries, or drop off food to one another. Over the holidays we made a phone call as a group to one of us who was far away.

There is wisdom in the sharing that keeps the culture and spirit alive.

Jeanette has not only taught cultural activities in the schools and planned and organized culture camps for youth and adults, but has brought us together culturally as well. She encouraged us all to sign up for the canning workshop sponsored by PIA. All of us sat at our own tables, six feet apart in masks, and were able to be together in that way as we cut fish, seasoned to our liking, and packed it in jars for pressure cooking. A great day. We all went home with a case of jarred fish and a full heart.

We benefit from this union in so many ways. Debra expresses another value of the group in knowing that 'if someone doesn't hear from me, that someone will call.' She appreciates how the group is non-judgmental. "That's what it's all about," she says. Although she participates in Zoom classes and belongs to Zoom groups of artists where she weaves and visits, she will try to get others from our group involved. Jeanette has joined in one group with her for skin-sewing. Debra loves to share what she knows and points out, "You learn by explaining things to others" and how teaching 'is an important aspect of the learning process.' And we all learn from one another, and all the while keeping humor alive.

Humor is a fundamental value of Tlingit people. It is even on the tribe's list put out by the 2004 Elders Forum on Traditional Values. Humor has always been key to our survival. I can still hear my grandmother's giggles when grandpa would tease her about something silly she did and had been feeling bad about it. However, our humor is not always understood, it would seem to us. We talk about how it feels that younger people learn things about the culture and language in books and classrooms nowadays, but not about the way we can be socially. Being raised in the country of our own people, we get that sometimes our kind of humor can prompt confusion by the eavesdropper. But still, we cannot help ourselves.

Mary and I, as it turns out, were both married to a Haida man at one time, a tribe just south of us on Prince of Wales Island and on the Canadian side in Haida Gwaii. "You will never find a Tlingit in a Hai-da bed!" we say to each other and then laugh. Whatever hurts and is still hung out in time, we can send a light breeze through it with humor.

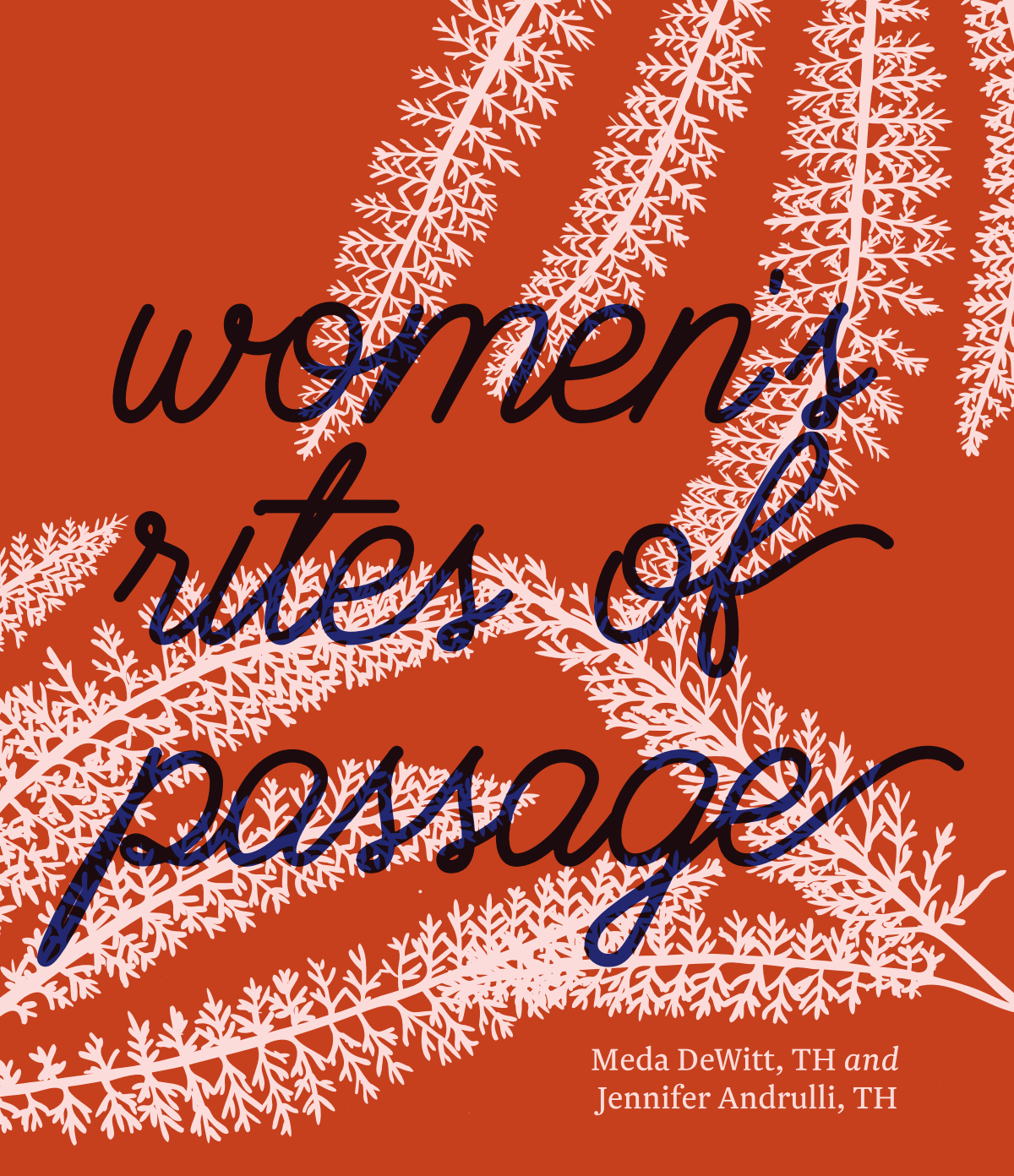
"Obviously, we didn't pay attention!" And we laugh some more. I watch her, her eyes glistening, as we joke, in English, in an all-so-ancient way.

Much of our Native humor is filled with sexual innuendo and can tickle us for hours. "Remember George! That guy! He always say when he wants to stand with you… '*Ge*. I want to come by you.' And say it so innocently." And we cannot help but imitate him and laugh. "*Gwál de wooch x̲'éide kudaxát*," when said in an exaggerated way, can leave a couple of us that know the intent of this in stitches, and means, "Are they stuck together by the mouth already?" I crave this stress relieving exchange that bonds one with another. That creates the space for unbridled human-ness – a joyful spirit that is free to sing.

Some of us have returned to the homeland with scars on our souls, lives lived with many journeys and losses, and we are grateful for each other and the familiarity and comfort of our Tlingit beingness. They feel so familiar, like, family, yet I only met these women over the past couple of years. It turns out that during an interview with Mary for this article, I discover that we are related. One of her relatives married one of my uncles in Sitka – my mother's brother. Now I call her Auntie. In truth, as we know it, we are our ancestors as it is. We are united.

There is a fluidity required in optimal human relationships to thrive and explore while also requiring a tight-knit bond of trust with room to freefall without fear of injury. We may swing freely in this happy confinement, and that is the beautiful irony.

Biography
Diane L'Xeis´ Benson is Tlingit. She is an Alaskan politician, an inspirational speaker, a video production consultant, a published writer and a dramatist.



Meda DeWitt, TH *and*
Jennifer Andrulli, TH

This document was originally published by Chatter Marks, a printed and vi

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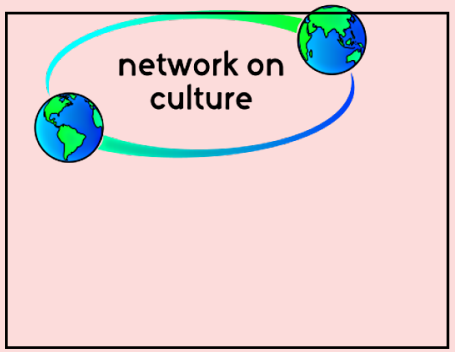

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Alaska Native Peoples cultivated intricate rites of passage to support girls and boys on their journey of life. Values, roles, and responsibilities were instilled and cultural traditions transmitted, governing human relationships with each other and relationships with the natural and supernatural worlds. Traditional protocols honoring maturation through life were based on Indigenous people's perspective of how to create healthy humans, families, and communities, living in reciprocal relationship with the environment. Rites of passage are used as an intensive knowledge-, wisdom-, and skills-transference process, grounding the participant in their cultural identity and sense of self. They mark someone's readiness to transition into their next phase of life or mastery.

There are many periods of passage during a person's life, generally associated with biological, psychological, or social-position transitions. Preparation for rites of passage would be integrated throughout the participant's life via stories, activities, lessons, and observations, and through supporting family, clan, and community members through the rites. These methods created for the participant anticipation and willingness to go through the process, an understanding of what was expected, and a sense of accomplishment once the rite of passage was completed. The current degradation or loss of rites of passage and other ceremonies in Alaska Native communities is linked to recent changes in social and political climate that have occurred due to Western contact, colonization, and assimilation.

While there are a satisfactory number of historical accounts from which to gain an understanding of the physical activities and structures of Alaska Native women's puberty customs, none demonstrate even a basic knowledge of women's wisdom, traditions, or power, nor any greater cultural understanding. The limited access to women's knowledge in the historical record is likely due in large part to the explorers themselves being men, and the custom of interviews being conducted with other men within the Indigenous population. (Frederica de Laguna was one female anthropologist who later edited and annotated male accounts to correct exaggerations and inaccuracies, including in her 1991 edited edition of George Thornton Emmons' *The Tlingit Indians*.) Another challenge is that anthropologists historically chose to observe at some distance, with only with limited interaction, believing this would limit their influence on the behaviors observed. Therefore, accounts collected by explorers, colonial observers, and missionaries were restricted, and the Indigenous rites observed—particularly menarche and menstruation rites—were depicted as superstitious, shameful, and primitive, with little sense of their ritual and complexity.

Today, Alaska Native cultural and traditional knowledge revitalization reinforces identity and reestablishes the positive and beneficial aspects of our heritage. Through language revitalization, traditional marking renewal, traditional healing programs, and trauma-informed care, we are cultivating resilience grounded in culturally distinctive health and wellbeing concepts.

Special thanks to our Elders who kept the flame of cultural and traditional knowledge alive in their hearts. To our wisdom-keepers, traditional healers, medicine women and men, culture-bearers and leaders who understand the value of revitalizing and reclaiming cultural sovereignty. We thank medical historian Robert Fortuine for his valuable contribution to documenting Alaska Native traditional healing practices and traditional ecological knowledge; due to time constraints for this project, we pulled extensively from his work *Shamans and Seal Oil* for historical accounts. Colonization policy, epidemics, the influenza pandemic of 1918, and forced religious conversion contributed to a time of great hardship for all Alaska Native people. Harold Napoleon (1996) shares eloquently in his essay *Yuuyaraq: The Way of the Human Being* that the "Great Death" spread like wildfire, killing 6 of every 10 people and wiping out entire villages, giving birth to a generation of orphans (p.3). After the Great Death, there was mass conversion, and people began to abandon, in a sense, their own culture. In abandoning their culture, they abandoned themselves. There was also born in them a sense of shame and guilt, because they were taught that the way they had been living their lives was what caused them to die in such great numbers (p.15). Our traditional healers and medicine people endured generations of religious persecution, suppression, and oppression. We are resilient; our traditions are alive, sacred, and to this day kept close to the heart within families. Few contemporary Alaska Natives write publicly about the depths of their Alaska Native spirituality. It is intertwined and woven into all that we do, for we are of the land and we are our Ancestors.

The political climate changed and colonization policies relaxed with the passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (AIRFA) (42 U.S.C. § 1996), which protects the rights of Native Americans and Alaska Natives to exercise their traditional religions by ensuring access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites. By the mid 1980s, the Catholic leadership realized that Yup'ik dancing could be a positive force, unifying communities and involving young people in cross-generational activities (Barker, Fienup-Riordan, & John, 2010, p. xxvi). In our lifetimes, as the religious suppression of Indigenous Alaska Natives have begun to relax, we have witnessed and participated in renewal of culture, language, and traditions. We see strong, united, and educated generations standing together, cultivating change, revitalizing language, and nurturing those most precious to the continuation of life itself: women and children.

Land Otter Medicine/Star Gentian

TLINGIT

Historical Accounts

We have the following historical account from Fortuine (1986):

Tlingit rituals associated with the first menstrual period were harsh indeed. The girl was secluded for as much as a year in a tiny rude shelter built some distance from the family dwelling. The hut was constructed of evergreen branches and had one barred opening facing the sea and another facing the street (Krause, 1956, p. 152; Niblack, 1888, p. 370). The girl's face was smeared with charred fungus and she was required to wear a special cloak, hood, or broad-brimmed hat that prevented her from looking at, and thus contaminating, the sky (Holmberg, 1856–63, p. 320). She was permitted to leave the hut for only brief periods at night, always while wearing her special headgear (Krause, 1956, p. 153). During the seclusion year, the girl ate only what her mother or a female slave brought her, and could suck only small amounts of water through the hollow wing bone of an eagle. No other comforts were allowed, and the hut was apparently not cleaned (Holmberg, 1856-63, p. 320). The girl was expected to occupy her time diligently, pursuing womanly tasks to prepare her for married life ahead (Langsdorff as cited in Niblack, 1888, p. 370). The slave who had assisted her to dress was given her freedom, and the old clothing was destroyed as a symbol of [the slave's] former condition (Holmberg, 1856-63, p. 321). The Tlingit believed that the failure to observe such customs would result in many misfortunes, including poor fishing, absent game, storms, and fatal accidents (Kaminskii, 1985, p. 48). At the conclusion of her long seclusion, the relatives of the young woman arranged a great celebration, at which she was presented to the guests decked out in fine new clothing, sometimes made even of sea otter skin (Fortuine, 1986, p.77).

Alaska Native Perspective

Nora Marks Keixwnéi Dauenhauer, a Tlingit poet, short-story writer, and Tlingit language scholar from Alaska, shares her perspective of women's rites. She illustrates the depth and richness as she describes the meaning of the rite and the experience of it, removing the stigmatization that occurs through a Western lens.

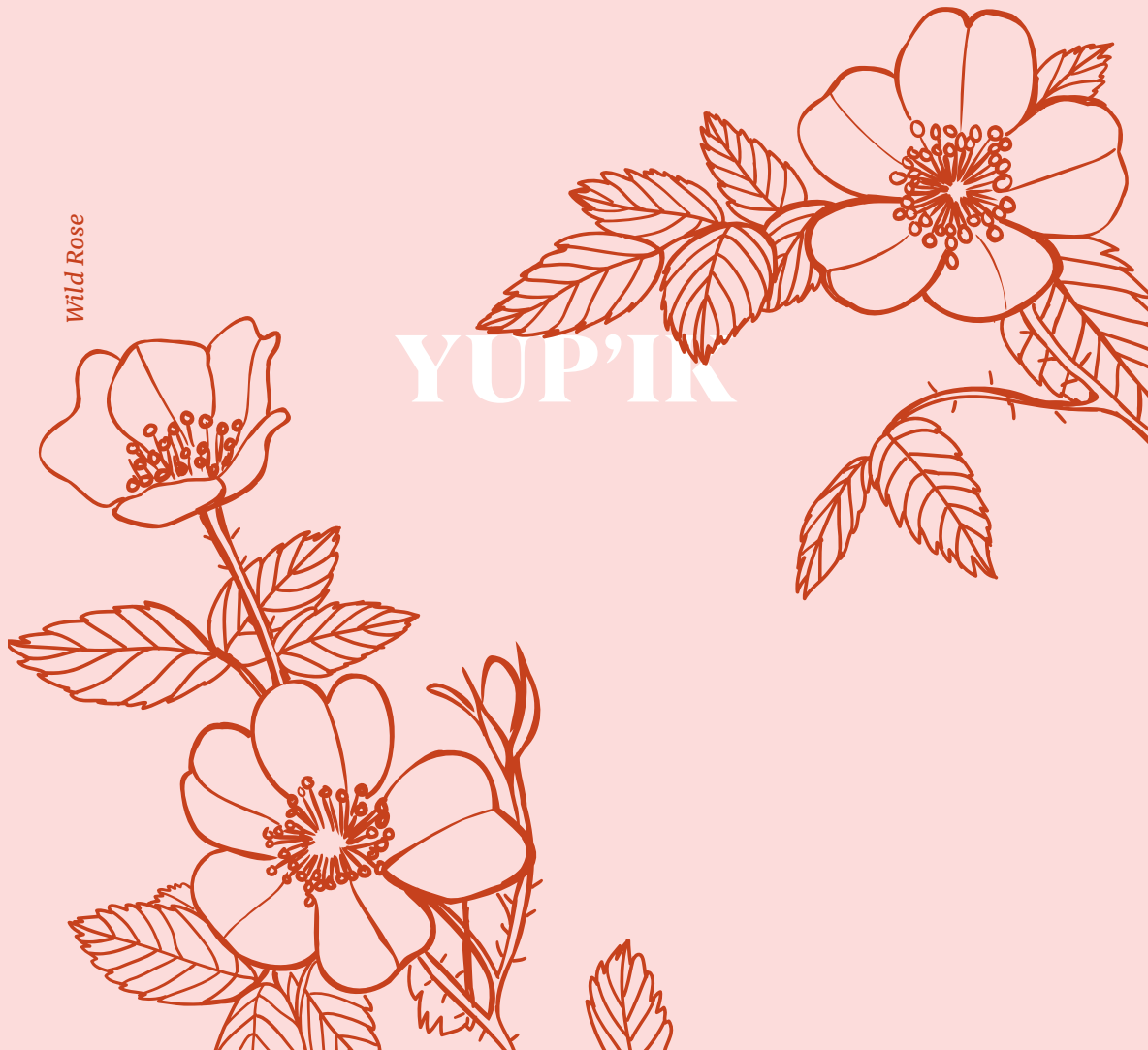
This is one of the great miracles and mysteries of life, and in many traditional societies women were and are considered to have great power, especially at this time. The power can also be unconscious and dangerous, and many ritual taboos often apply. In traditional societies, the onset of menstruation is also one of the great rites of passage in a woman's life, and in the life of the community (Dauenhauer, 1987, p. 421).

Liz Cheney also articulates living cultural understanding in a paper on becoming a mother. While this is not the puberty seclusion ceremony, it represents another transition into a new identity with new responsibilities and expectations, a transition also significant to the Tlingit.

All through the pregnancy, the expecting mother was being continually told by her grandmothers, aunties, and mothers the role and importance of being a mother. Many of the women from around the village would come by to wish the unborn child a safe passage from the land of the ancestors. The expecting mother would spend her days listening and learning the rhythms of motherhood. She would sit quietly in places she felt drawn to and describe the beauty to her child. Whenever she worked on anything, she would take the time to describe how and why she

was doing it. It was believed that if she did not speak quietly to her silent observer inside and share with it beautiful songs and stories, then the child would be born with empty ears, always trying to make noise, and it would have empty eyes, unable to see beauty (Cheney, 1996, as cited in DeWitt, 2012).

The understanding of how a person fits into social structures and what protocols they must follow allows the person to fulfill that role to the best of their ability. This identity is reinforced as their worth is reflected back to them, through gratitude and reciprocity from other community members and from nature.



Historical Accounts

Ann Fienup-Riordan has gifted us with a contemporary anthropological feminine perspective of Yup'ik culture and oral traditions. We are indebted to her for bringing forth words of our Living Elders, who remember, practice, and teach *Yuungnaqpiallerput*, the way we genuinely live, inspiring younger generations as we reclaim and revitalize our culture, language, and traditions. Culture is not static, and Yup'ik families continue to blend our ancestral knowledge into the modern world. The coastal Yup'ik viewed the daily activity and personal rituals of women as having a profound impact on the relationship between humans and animals (Fienup-Riordan, 1985, p.187). After a menstrual seclusion rite of passage, girls followed protocols and restrictions which evolved as they matured into marriage and motherhood. The protocols were developed to harness the special powers which come along with the ability to produce human life, such as the power to both draw and repel animals (Fienup-Riordan, 1985, p.163).

From Fortuine (1986), we have this historical account:

> A Yupik adolescent girl was considered unclean for 40 days after her first menstrual period, during which time she was secluded in a corner of the dwelling with her face to the wall and a parka hood over her head. During the summer months she might be permitted to spend her time of seclusion in a rough shelter away from the main house, but in either case she could not go out during the day and only once each night. At the end of the 40 days she bathed, put on new garments, and henceforth was eligible for marriage (Nelson, 1899, p. 291). Many restrictions were imposed on the girl at menarche. She was expected to work quietly and industriously during her seclusion on such tasks as weaving baskets, sewing boots, or other practical activities that prepared her for adult responsibilities. During the first ten days she was given no water to drink and could not eat fresh fish or pick up food with her hands. After this initial period, she still could not dip water but had to drink through a tube, usually made from the wing bone of a bird. Her boots were taken away and a belt was tied around her hips with a piece of fish hanging from one side and a little sack full of ashes from the other. When she was finally permitted to go outside she had to wear her boots and her hood up at all times to shade her eyes. These practices had the dual purpose of protecting the community from the girl's "uncleanness" and protecting her in turn from supernatural powers. During subsequent menses, a woman observed many of the same restrictions, such as not touching water or the ground directly, and shading her eyes from the sun (Fortuine, 1986, p.46).

YUP'IK

Alaska Native Perspective

Living *yuuyaraq*, the Yup'ik way of life, is to know and understand *yagyarat*, the rules of life. John (2010) shares multiple yagyarat for living in reciprocal relationship with both human and nonhuman beings in the form of plants, animals, minerals, and natural phenomena. These are the critical rules that apply to the relationship between humans, the land, and the sacred world. For example, when a girl becomes a woman, it is traditionally believed that the spiritual impact of the menstrual cycle could affect the survival effort of the community; the belief is that a woman's aroma is extremely powerful in the sacred world. This is the reason why a woman who began menstruating was secluded in her hut for up to a year before she could participate in social activities (John, 2010, pp. 42–43).

In a 2020 personal communication, Karen Brooks eloquently shares her family's journey from cultural collapse to empowerment. She writes that familial and personal ceremonies and celebrations, honoring the transitions through life, cultivate and nurture multigenerational and epigenetic healing and understanding:

My late Yup'ik/Siberian Yupik grandmother, Helen Joe, was born at a time of great change in Tununak on Qaluyaat (Nelson Island). She was an orphan of the Great Death, the influenza pandemic of 1918. She was found floating alone in an umiak (boat), her parents lost to the Bering Sea. Life was difficult for orphans; she was a survivor. I loved her very much, she was kind and gentle with me. When I would take her arm and say, "This is so fluffy," she would laugh. Sometimes, late in the evenings, she would sing Yup'ik songs, she would line up all the children and teach us how to dance. We would move and turn to the rhythm of her song, sometimes I felt like a bird in the sky. When I was eight years old, Grandma took me aside, she silently pulled down her lower lip, on the inside she had tattoos. She did not say a word, she just looked at me, it was that profound. I carried this experience with me until I figured it out, years later. I was taught to hold Yup'ik spirituality close to my heart and not to share my gifts. I was hushed when I asked questions about dreams, visions, and subtle feelings. Like Grandmother's tattoos, we kept the sacred secret.

Growing up, I went to the churches of my friends, experiencing multiple Christian denominations, listening, observing, and questioning. I witnessed the similarities and discrepancies within the doctrines, I had many questions the Church would not answer, my keen nature was always getting me in trouble with the clergy.

My relatives did not talk about their pain. It was repressed, coming out as anger, abuse, and addiction. I could feel the shame beneath the surface, yet no one talked about it. I dedicated my life to healing and understanding so I could break the chains and stop the cycle for my children. I spent time with the Elders, listening and learning. One Elder would only let me ask one question per visit; it took me years to learn what was remembered. As I learned, I shared with my children, we grew together.

My journey also took me through the wisdom teachings of world religions. In the red road teachings of the Sioux, I found First Nations honoring the traditions of their Ancestors, hosting community ceremonies dedicated to the spiritual journey of their people, such as sweat lodge, sun dance, pipe ceremony, and vision quest. Classic yoga texts showed me in matter-of-fact terms that if I sat quietly, practiced controlled breathing, and paid close attention to the awareness of my mind, I was able to access altered states of consciousness. This is the very

state my Ancestors accessed to thrive in the Arctic. These are not magical states of being, but our birthright as human beings. In my martial arts qi gong practice, I saw similarities to Yup'ik dance movements. Breath, intention, stamina, and endurance combined in a moving meditation designed to enhance connection to natural forces. In Chinese acupuncture, I found similarities with Yup'ik traditional poking and tattooing on areas of pain and inflammation. I sought out the essence of truth within world religions and cultures, identifying what served my family and community and blending the ancient and modern to meet the needs of all my patients, no matter their heritage, with honor and understanding.

On my journey of reconciling my childhood trauma, I came to understand the deep commitment Grandma Helen Joe made to herself about who she was as Yup'ik. Her tattoos were her *yagyarait arnaurtellriit* (rites of passage) markings, and they were placed on the inside of her lower lip. With this act of personal empowerment, she taught me the value of maintaining a connection to our ancestral ways, and the resilience of my Yup'ik relatives and ancestors. In that moment, Grandma transmitted cultural knowledge, a download that took me years to understand and integrate, a sacred moment when she gave me permission to seek understanding and empowerment through rites of passage.

I work with my community to revitalize and create ceremonies and rites of passage, honoring the transitions and transformations through life. Our culture is dynamic, shifting and evolving. I weave the old ways of my Ancestors into ceremonies that create meaning in the modern world, and support people in liminal space for a period so they can journey through their heart.

For my children, I spoke the truth, told them every story I knew of the hardships of their Ancestors and relatives. There were no secrets, and the truth held a resonance that they could use to understand the experiences in their lives. I am encouraged to see a renewal of traditional marking for Inuit and Yup'ik women; this is part of our process, healing trauma through reclaiming our identity. Traditional Healers and Medicine People have a calling from the time they are little. The medicine has a way of telling you what to do with it, this knowledge comes through our dreams, visions, and knowing in our heart. The scientists tell us this is genetic knowledge, blood knowledge. Our Ancestors taught us that everything has a spiritual essence, a form of awareness, and we can interact with the sentient Universe though our thoughts, emotions, and intentions. This is a shared understanding across the diverse Indigenous cultures within Alaska and around the World. Let us gather, gather with our tribes, remember when we remembered, it is time.

Contemporary Alaska Native Traditional Healers, culture bearers and leaders are revisioning what it means to honor and hold space for rites of passage in the modern world. They are creating space in retreat, where both women and men have support to rest, reflect, process, and be safely with themselves, remembering the understanding. Our resilience manifests when family and community support each other through the transitions of the human experience, and we hold sacred the cycles of life. As we reestablish the positive and beneficial aspects of rites of passage ceremonies, there is opportunity for deep healing in the traditions of the women's house and men's house. We are in this together as families, local communities, and the global village. (Brooks, personal communication, June 21, 2020).

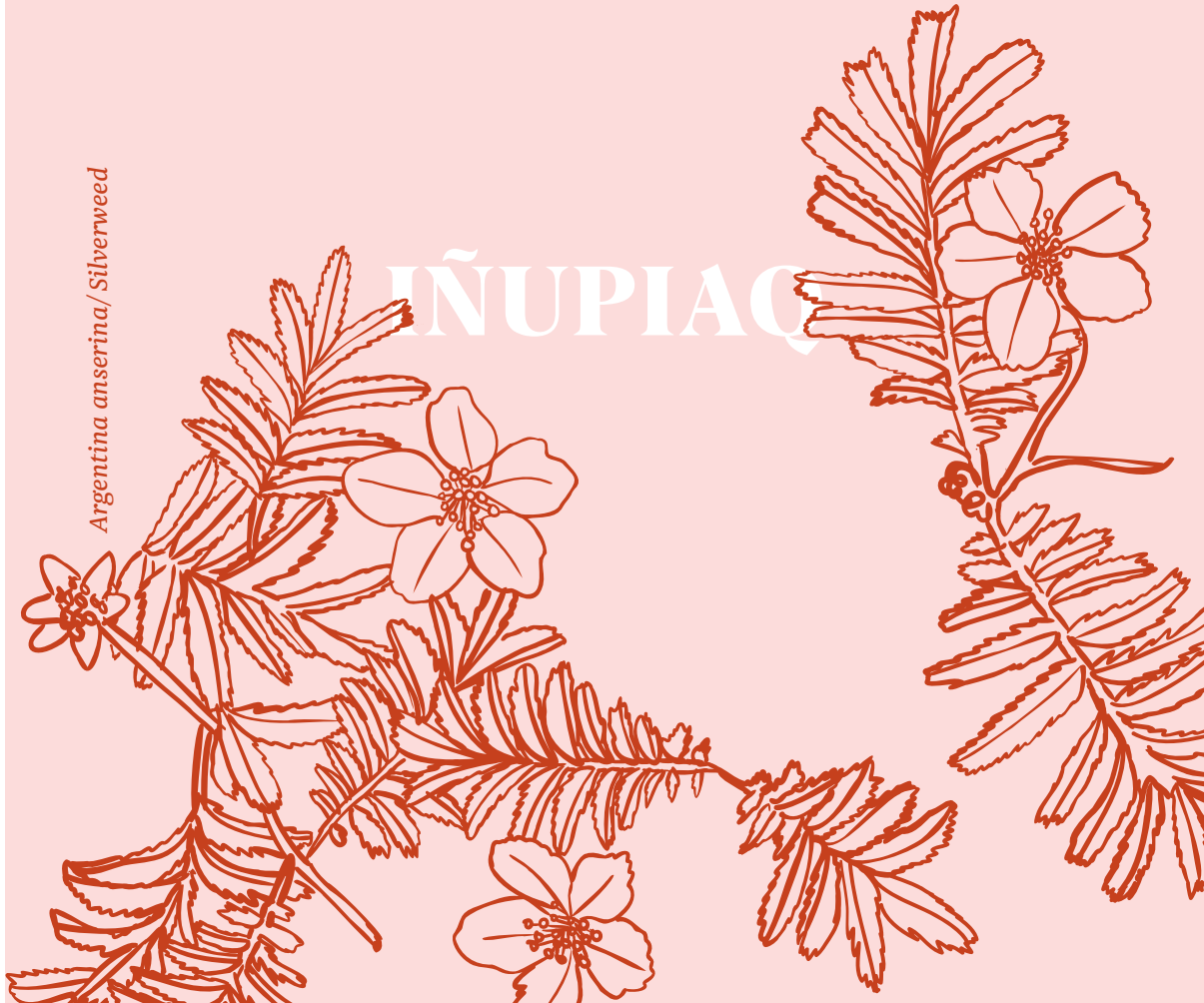
Jennifer Andrulli followed in her mother's footsteps; like Karen Brooks, she continues to question everything. She grew up with Alaska Native Elders, experiencing a grounding in culture and tradition, connected to the land and the rhythms of the seasons in Interior Alaska. She spent the last 25 years training with Elders from many cultures including Tlingit, Athabascan, Mayan, Paiute, Chippewa, Cree, Shipibo, Bwiti, Huichol, Maori, Taino, Hopi, Northern Cheyenne, Australian Aboriginal, Hindu, Taoist, and Sufi, learning ethnoherbalism, bodywork, sacred traditions, and wisdom traditions to support her work in service to community healing and understanding. Andrulli wrote in a 2020 personal communication of her experiences:

I grew up in a Yup'ik and Italian-American family on the traditional lands of the Tanana Athabaskans. I am blessed, my mom was progressive, learning and grounding into the old ways of our Yup'ik culture while navigating Westernization. Internalized oppression is a problem in Alaska. Mom was half Yup'ik and half Finnish; to some Alaska Natives she was not Native enough, and she was bullied and ridiculed, experiencing lateral racism. But as an Alaska Native in the eyes of the white majority, she was also subjected to racial discrimination. As my mom explored the stories of her grandmother, mother, and aunties, she learned the depth of historical trauma stemming from colonization policy, pandemics, forced religious conversion, and the boarding-school era. She was determined to break the chains of intergenerational trauma transmission within her family line. She started reviving the tradition of *ena* (woman's house), meaning regularly scheduled time away from the rest of the family. She created intentional space to transmit cultural knowledge, history, and training in traditional healing and integrative modalities. I was taught the importance of understanding world history and global historical trauma as it relates to present-day health.

My first childhood memory was of climbing a large spruce tree, looking out over the village and seeing my parents far below. I was curious, rambunctious, and full of energy. To this day, I am often in the forest, working with herbal medicine and sharing the gifts of nature with others. When I was little, I became seriously ill, with a high fever and difficulty breathing. As I lay there, I experienced my first soul journey, flying over the village. In this aspect of consciousness, I had no discomfort, and I discerned it was distinctly different from my waking reality. These soul flights continued for many years, with lucid dreams and meditation-state visions as vivid as waking life. My rite of passage journey came at thirteen. Time was set aside, and sacred space was created by burning the plant *caiggluk* (artemisia tilesii). Prayers were said and intention was held in my heart to seek a vision. Through the process, I journeyed through the stars, down wormholes to a density far away. I was aware of a presence next to me, and all I could see was brilliant diamond blue and white light, I experienced an overwhelming sense of pure knowledge and understanding. No questions in my mind, a knowing in my heart, I was there in a timeless eternity. I started to journey back, following spirals of star patterns and wormholes, until I came back into my body. All I remembered was that I remembered. It was too much information to hold in my mind. In my heart, I have had access to it for the rest of my life. This was my first of many rites of passage. Mom nurtured me as I grew and evolved, she looked for my gifts and provided teachers and experiences to support my growth. She honored and recognized distinct shifts in my human expression, such as mastering a skill, leaving home, and returning from pilgrimages to sacred sites and time with Elders of various tribes in North and Central America. As I got older, I choose to continue learning, and I was blessed to grow with the support of a group of wise women of all races, many nations and religious backgrounds. On the spiral

of evolution and change, I became a member of the global village. Participation in healing and transformation is a choice; it takes practice and discipline. We are each on a mythic journey When this path is honored and celebrated, we feel seen, interconnected, supported, and encouraged by those who have gone before. I honor and respect all my Alaska Native mentors and Elders who have guided me through with a solid foundation of belonging. My grandmother, Rose, who encouraged me to drum. My mother, Karen, who taught me the plants. And my sisters, my greatest reflection, who help me to see where I still have room to grow.

For my family, rite of passage ceremony involves creating sacred space in a setting that provides support, Alaska Native plant medicine, drumming, sound/songs, guidance, prayer, and intention: a safe space to open the heart and explore. I was taught protocols to participate in ceremony from the perspective of woman's house. I was also guided to keep the sacred close to my heart unless I was asked specific questions, at which point I could share the wisdom traditions of my family. To this day, extraordinarily little is shared by Alaska Natives about contemporary rites of passage and ceremony. (Andrulli, personal communication, September 21, 2020).



IÑUPIAQ

Historical Accounts

From Fortuine (1986), we have this historical account:

When a girl from the Barrow [Utqiaġvik] area began her menses for the first time, she was confined to a special section of the house for five days. During this period she wore a special hood of caribou skin that shaded her eyes, since to look at the light was thought to be harmful. The girl could not mix her urine with that of others, and therefore had to be led by another woman some distance from the house to relieve herself. She further was forbidden to touch raw meat, and had to drink from a special wooden vessel. A hunter would lose his power to kill animals if she touched a fresh carcass; likewise, a shaman would lose his powers if she should touch him (Spencer, 1959, pp. 243–244). Many variations on this basic pattern have been described for the northern Eskimos. In Norton Sound the period of seclusion was originally 40 days, but this was later considerably shortened. Here the girl was thought to be surrounded by a strange atmosphere, which, if a young man should come in contact with it, [would make him] visible to all the animals he hunted (Nelson, 1899, p. 291). Around Selawik Lake and the Kobuk River, a girl was isolated for as much as a year and required to wear a large hood to shield her eyes. During this time, she was assisted by her mother and taught the responsibilities of womanhood (Giddings, 1961, pp 20-21, 154; Weyer, 1932, p. 374). At the opposite extreme were the Nunamiut, who required no period of seclusion at all, although the girl had to drink exclusively out of her own skin vessel for the period of a month, and could not have sexual intercourse at least until after her second menstrual period (Gubser, 1965, p. 208) (Fortuine, 1986, p. 62).

IÑUPIAQ

Alaska Native Perspective

Allison Akootchook Warden shares:

There are two markings most Inuit women would have done in their lifetime, the chin and the fingers. Depending on the region and the individual, more markings might be held. When the medicine person entered the seclusion hut during puberty seclusion to perform the marking ceremony, practices were followed to control pain and bleeding. The protocols for traditional markings have been transmitted orally for generations. As I practice the art of traditional markings, I can share that there is a sacred threshold during marking ceremonies where knowledge is transferred through a concentrated burst of ancestral energy. (Warden, personal communication, 2020).

Kunaq Tahbone shares:

My coming-of-age ceremony happened when I received my tavluġun (chin tattoo). I had just finished my reign as Miss Indian World and was preparing to graduate college with an Alaska Native Studies degree, with a focus on Iñupiaq language. I had begun the process of getting *Kakiñiit* (traditional tattoos) years before by asking permission from my *aana* (grandmother), which I did not receive. My parents supported me, but it was important to have my aana's blessing. After a couple years of showcasing my language learning, traditional skill building, and persistence, my aana finally gave me the "ok." My aana grew up in a time when assimilation into Western society was prioritized. I think she was worried I wouldn't fit in or get a job, and that I would be teased. I think

after nearly 10 years, she is happy knowing that I helped sparked a revitalization of our Kakiñiit, and that I am stronger in my identity than ever before. I am now honored to be a Kakiñiit practitioner and have created a ceremonial space for other Indigenous women to receive their tavluġun just as our ancestors did (Tahbone, personal communication, October 28, 2020).

Historical Accounts

We have the following historical account from Fortuine (1986):

The Haida had similar customs, but with important variations. The Haida girl was secluded for only 20 days, although perhaps for much longer in earlier times, and stayed in a screened-off portion of the family dwelling. She was required to fast and to drink as little water as possible. She could not laugh or talk, lest she acquire bad habits in later life. The girl could only leave the house by a special door, and if she should meet a man, she had to cover her face (Krause, 1956, p. 210; Niblack, 1888, p. 370; Swanton, 1905, p. 48). (Fortuine, 1986, p.78).

Alaska Native Perspective

Lucy Bell, Sdaahl K'awaas, from the Eagle clan, a woman of the Tsiij Git'anee clan, from Old Massett, Haida Gwaii writes that when a girl turned into a woman at her first menses, **tagwana**, ***it was an important time that was marked with ceremony. She goes on to say seclusion was an important aspect of a woman's coming-of-age ritual; her mother and*** **skaanalang**, ***paternal aunties, guided her through the ritual. She shares her family's revitalization of rite of passage for her daughter:***

We held a small tagwana ceremony for my own daughter, Amelia. Her aunties and a couple of her friends came to our home. Although I wished to have a bigger ceremony for her, I honored her wishes to just have a quiet ceremony. We still honored her and welcomed her to womanhood. Her aunty Sandy Gagnon made her a hemlock wreath. Her maternal and paternal aunties decorated it with all sorts of abalone, money, and jewels. Amelia passed through the big wreath four times. Amelia hung the wreath above her bed and the dried needles that fell on her represented the riches that will come her way in her life. Her aunties also all left her lasting words of encouragement and love. I believe the ceremony strengthened her *liis*, the invisible umbilical cord that connects her to her family and to the Haida Gwaii. It also made her a stronger young woman who knows her place in the world, and ensured that she knows the *aw'lang* and skaan'lang, her matrilineal aunties and patrilineal aunties who will be by her side for her lifetime (Bell, 2016, pp. 111–112).

Borage
ATHABASCAN

ATHABASCAN

Historical Accounts

There are many variations of rite of passage and vision quest ceremonies across Alaskan Athabascan groups. Vision quest marked the end of childhood (Hippler & Wood, 1974, p.II-67). Markstrom & Iborra (2003) provide the following historical accounts in their research of Northern tribes:

In summarizing data across several Northern cultures relative to seclusion and taboos at menarche, Libby (1952) concluded that "stringent puberty observances of the northern Athabascans is not horror of women, of menstruation, or of menstrual fluid as such, but is, in part, a desire not to offend the game and fur animals on whose good will the natives still depend for much of their livelihood" (p. 2). As noted by Powers (1980), anthropologists have tended to regard Native taboos toward menstrual blood and menstruating women as misogynist. Alternatively, menstrual taboos can be examined from a culturally relativistic perspective wherein North American Indians viewed menstrual blood as a power active in healing or curing (Beck et al., 1996) and reflective of the creative forces of nature (St. Pierre & Long Soldier, 1995). We argue that for the Navajo, menstrual flow is regarded as an extension of the same power responsible for creation and annual rejuvenation. Menstruation is the essence of Changing Woman that permits transformation of the initiate into this important supernatural figure (Markstrom& Iborra, 2003, p. 410).

According to Hippler (1973), all Alaska Athabascans isolated girls at the onset of menarche, as they did menstruating women and those delivering children (p. 1533). Fortuine (1986) provides insight into the many variations and customs of maturation rites across the cultures of Athabascans who live in a region stretching from south of the Brooks Mountain Range all the way to the Kenai Peninsula of Southcentral Alaska:

An Ingalik girl undergoing her first period was secluded for a full year in a corner of the house separated off by grass mats. During this time she had to keep a fur hood drawn over her head and wear a pair of small mittens joined by a band of fur extending behind her neck and holding her hands at the level of the breast. A black band was drawn with charcoal across her eyes from temple to temple, the same pattern used on a dead body. The girl was able to leave the house only by night and could not participate in any family activities. At the end of a year the girl bathed, threw away her old clothing and donned a new set, including a special piece of caribou or moose skin ornamented with tassels around the head as a sign of maturity (Nelson, 1978, p. 41). The girl spent much of her time in seclusion learning the arts of womanhood, such as sewing skins, cooking, doing beadwork, and making fishnets (Snow, J. H., 1981, p. 610). Her mother taught her these skills, instructed her in all necessary rituals, and cooked her meals. A Kutchin girl at menarche was isolated in a separate hut as much as a mile away from the family house. While outdoors she wore a special cowl fringed with caribou-hoof rattles to warn others of her approach (Slobodin, 1981, p. 524–525). Her food was brought cut into small pieces which had to be eaten with a stick, while liquids were sucked through a tube made from the wing bones of a bird (McKennan, 1965, p. 58). Among the Han the girl's father gave a banquet for the community before seclusion began (Snow, J. H., 1981, p. 508). She was then isolated under the care of a relative of her future husband. The hut was gradually moved closer to her family as the year went on. During this period, she subsisted on dried salmon eggs, dried meat, berries, and soup made from caribou viscera

(Osgood, 1971, p. 49). The Ahtna girl was isolated for 70 days in a separate brush hut. She was not allowed to eat, drink, or speak for the first three days, and had to spend at least ten days sitting in a very cramped position. Strings of caribou hide were bound around her wrists, elbows, knees, ankles, and fingers to keep the joints supple. After ten days she was permitted to bathe and again at 30 days, when she was moved to a brush hut nearer home. When 70 days had passed, and for the remainder of the year, she was expected to observe all food taboos and to wear a huge moose skin hood with a fringe over the eyes to protect all living things and the sky from her harmful glance (De Laguna & McClellan, 1981, p. 658). Less rigid were the Upper Tanana, who isolated the girl for only two or three months. She too, however, was obliged to observe certain food taboos for a further nine months before becoming eligible for marriage (McKennan, 1959, p. 143). An even easier time was had by a Tanaina girl, who might be secluded for as little as seven days. (Fortuine, 1986, p. 92).

ATHABASCAN

Alaska Native Perspective

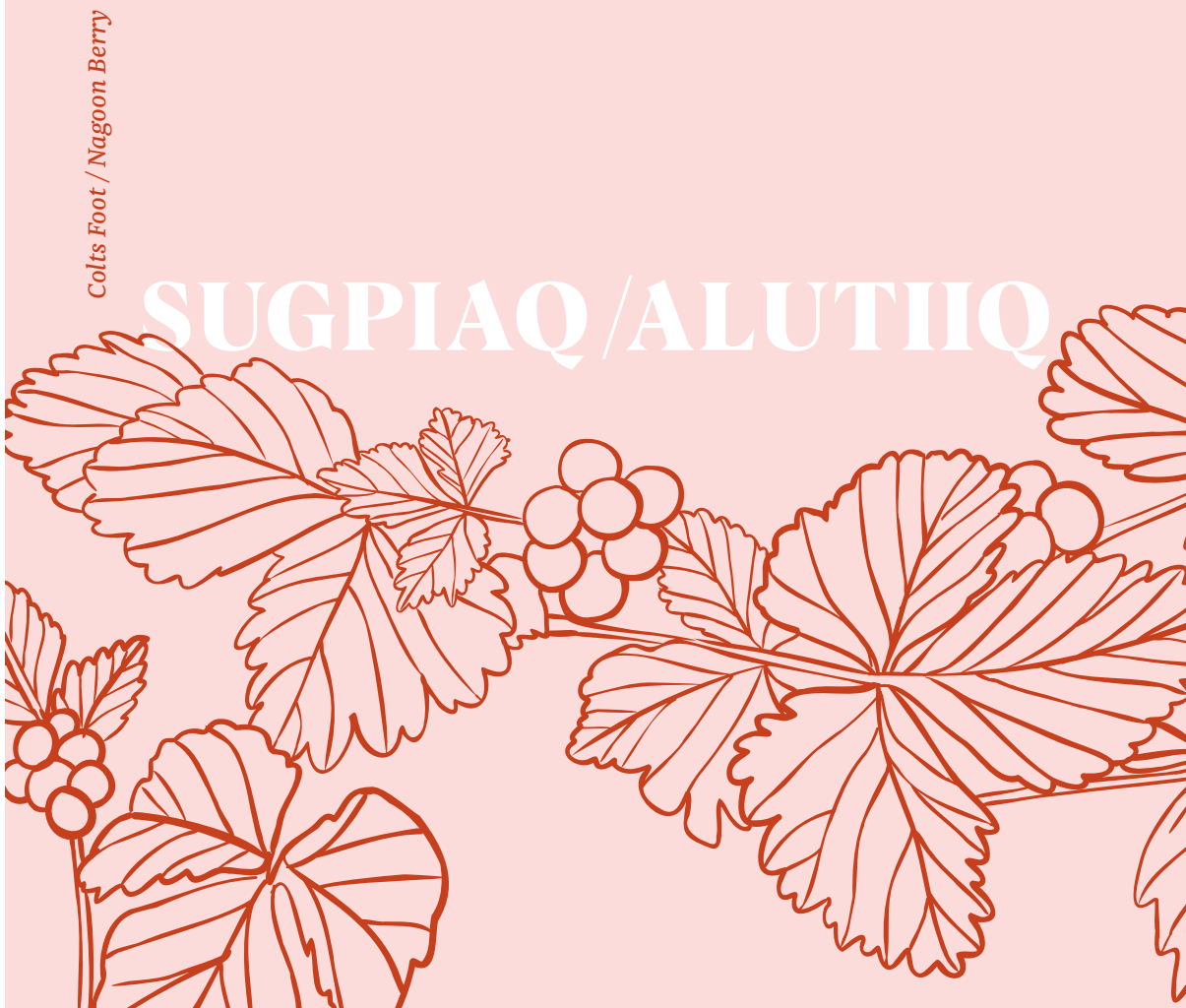
Pregnancy as a rite of passage and ceremonial space is shared by Helena Jacobs of the Alaska Native Birthworkers Community:

[The Community is made up of] Native women who offer care to pregnant people, including other Native women, in the same way we have cared for one another for millennia. We are seeking to reclaim our ancestral knowledge, as well as learn new knowledge to grow the capacity of our local caregivers to call back these roles (as quoted in Carraher-Kang, 2020, p. 10).

According to Jacobs, "Birth itself is considered a ceremony, and the specific ways each of us practice holding this ceremonial space differs greatly" (as quoted in Carraher-Kang, 2020, p. 10).

The Community shares:

Our young women want aunties to guide them through their transition into womanhood, our mothers want support to navigate pregnancy and childbirth, our sisters want someone to sit beside them while learning to care for a newborn and grow their families. For millennia our social and community structures demanded ceremonial rites of passage, that a new mother be cared for by everyone surrounding her, and that care was offered locally by women whose wisdom and medicine passed on from generation to generation (as quoted in Carraher-Kang, 2020, p. 10–11).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SUGPIAQ/ALUTIIQ

SUGPIAQ/ALUTIIQ

Historical Accounts

From Fortuine (1986), we have this historical account:

When an Aleut girl underwent her first menstrual period, often around twenty years of age, she was immediately taken to a separate barabara, or else a special section of the family dwelling was curtained off for the purpose (Merck, 1980, pp. 174, 178). There she remained for 30–40 days, during which time she was not permitted to emerge for any reason. Only her mother or other close female relatives were permitted to visit to bring her food and drink (Veniaminov, 1984, p. 210). Males could approach the site only if they were seeking healing, especially of seasickness, a power that pubescent girls were reputed to have (Laughlin & Marsh, 1951, p. 84). At the beginning of the period of confinement, the female relatives bound each of the girl's joints with a waxed cord, to prevent premature senility, joint disease, and even dangers to the village's food and water supply (Laughlin & Marsh, 1951, p. 84). If the girl attempted to leave her isolated area, her skin was said to turn black and she would become subject to infectious diseases, which might in turn be passed on to others (Veniaminov, 1984, p. 210). When the long period of seclusion was finally over, the girl washed herself daily for five days and then returned to a fairly normal life. Although she was not permitted to go to sea for a period of five further months. The belt she wore during her isolation was saved for its continuing curative powers (Laughlin & Marsh, 1951, p. 85). Similar restrictions during her menses were required of a girl or woman throughout her life. For her second period she was isolated for 20 days and thereafter for seven days of each month when she was menstruating (Fortuine, 1986, p.19).

SUGPIAQ/ALUTIIQ

Alaska Native Perspective

Alisha Susana Drabek shares:

Respect for the environment and our responsibility as stewards of it is an ancient tradition, particularly among traditional harvest cultures whose people understand the interrelatedness of their care of the environment as the home of the animals and plants who sustain the people. Alutiiq traditions of right behavior and living in reciprocal relationship with the environment extend to the power of women, particularly girls at menarche and woman menstruating. They indicate a strong belief in the reproductive power women possess, as well as the ability animals have to be highly sensitive to humans, consciousness that in order for animals to give themselves up in a hunt, they expect to be respected (Drabek, 2012).

Artemisia Tilesii / *Stinkweed*

UNANGAX̂

UNANGAX

Historical Accounts

From Shade (1948), we have this historical account:

At menarche the girl is given a charge of one of the older women of the village, who supervises her activities during the period of the rite. The girl is confined to her room, in darkness, for forty days, during which time her food is prepared and brought to her by the old woman in charge. Only boiled meat or fish may be eaten, no vegetables and only one cup of water is allowed her per day. The same dishes are used throughout the period. The hands must be washed before each meal in water in which an herb called *simxux* has been mixed. A bath in luke-warm water is permitted at the end of the first ten days and at five-day intervals thereafter. Combing the hair is not allowed, and food must be eaten while wearing gloves made from an old pair of socks. At night the girl is taken out for exercise by the old woman, but she must remain within a restricted area near her house. She may not walk by the beach, nor cross the fish stream, nor is she allowed to look out to sea or up at the sky. She can have no visitors unless approved by the old woman, and she is told that her eyes will water all the rest of her life if she laughs during the period of confinement. She is told to sew a great deal, for that will insure her being able to sew well in the future. At the beginning of the period pieces of cotton string are tied around the girl's throat, waist, wrists, knees, and ankles, and are never removed during the period of seclusion. On the string around the waist the old woman ties a charm she has made for the purpose. The girl may or may not know what it is or how it was made. At the end of the period this charm is given to some man of the old woman's choice who carries it to sea with him to bring safety. During this time the girl is believed to have healing powers. An old man with rheumatism was brought to the author's informant during her confinement so that she could rub his aching knees with her saliva, which is said to have stopped the pain. The forty days of darkness is followed by another period of ten days, during which the girl continues in seclusion, but may have light in her room. On the morning of the ninth day she takes a bath, afterward cleaning out the entire house, taking everything outside and washing it, scrubbing the walls and floors, bed clothes, and curtains. Then she takes another bath, this time with hot water, in her own house. After the final bath, the girl is considered a woman. For the next five months, she must remain in her room during menstruation for five days at each period. After this she is free from restriction, except that she may not go inside the church at any time while menstruating. In 1941 the girl was told that she must never have anything to do with the preparation of food during her monthly period, but it is said that this rule is no longer observed by the younger women. The older ones, however, still maintain the custom (Shade, C. 1948, p. 146).

UNANGAX̂

Alaska Native Perspective

Sharon Svarny-Livingston of Unalaska contributes this vision, titled "A Windblown Path":

Iklax̂, Santa Fe, New Mexico, September 2002.

In her dormitory suite, she puts the kettle on to boil. She turns and walks to her bedroom and begins to rummage through her top dresser drawer. The drawer is a mess. From all of the flotsam of compact discs, ponytail bands, earrings, floss, nail clippers, feathers, shells, socks and an odd lace potpourri, she pulls out a zip lock bag that is marked, in her mother's hand, yarrow. Iklax̂'s mother puts yarrow in bags for her to use during the school year. She always marks them in a black, Sharpie pen. This is so, she says, that if, by chance her daughter is searched, no one will mistake the dried medicine plant for anything else. Iklax̂ opens the bag, takes a deep breath of the pungent herb, and closes her eyes and thinks of home. Home is an island in the Aleutian Chain. Right now, at the end of September, the hills and mountains are changing colors. Like the fall color extravaganza throughout the states when the leaves on the trees change to brilliant oranges, yellows, and reds—the tundra-laden hills of Unalaska do the same thing. The blueberries are heavy and clustered on the bushes and there is a bite of cold in the air. Looking up in the hills, you will see small groups of berry pickers wearing brightly colored scarves with buckets over their arms, bent over and moving slowly from bush to bush. Mountains, rising severely out of the sea, already call to her even though she has been gone from home for only a month. There might be a dusting of snow on the peaks.

Not many people know of the Unangax̂. Since the Russian invasion in the mid 1700s, they have been called "Aleuts." The Unangax̂ are one of the most resilient groups of people in the world. They have the distinction of being the one race of people inhabiting the same area for the longest period of known time; over nine thousand years, and they are still there. Their existence in the Aleutians was not won without suffering enormous changes that took them to the brink of extinction and then beyond into a black hole of despair. The Unangax̂, which loosely translated means "people of the passes," were a seafaring, sea-dwelling people who carved out a prosperous life in what some claim to be the most inhospitable climate and terrain imaginable. They were hunters and gatherers who were well advanced in such life skills as hunting, food gathering, boat building, tool construction, surgery, acupuncture, weaving, bentwood working, storytelling, and art. They used to number nearly 25,000 strong, and now number less than four thousand, spread all over the United States, due to the evacuation of the people during World War II. Assimilation has been the normal way of dealing with native cultures throughout the world. It was no different in the Aleutians. By far the most devastating event in the history of the Unangax̂ was the evacuation of the people from the Aleutian and the Pribilof islands during World War II. It turned out to be more demoralizing than the near genocide of the people when the population was drastically cut from 25,000 to 1,875 by the Russians, more heinous than the rampant prejudice against and assimilation of the Unangax̂ when the United States purchased Alaska. It was during this period that an almost irretrievable devastation of the culture took hold.

Iklax̂ thinks of her mom and her grandma and wonders of the great-grandmother she never knew. What was it about them that made them so single-minded? What made them so willing to teach one more person how to weave a basket, which

plant to use for fevers, how to split a fish, or how to intricately paint designs on a bentwood hat? She wonders how far she will be able to take this gift that was passed on to her. This gift of valuing herself and her community. She has come to realize that this gift was presented to her without her knowledge, creeping into her being throughout her childhood and young adulthood. The introduction of morals and values passed down through the millennia that the Unangax̂ have called the Aleutians home was not formal instruction, but rather a way of life. It has become the gift of having a sense of duty to her people and her culture. On more than one occasion, it has seemed like a burden, one she didn't choose for herself, but now she thinks of this new path she has chosen for herself, a path that circles back on her mother and grandmother like nothing they might have foreseen. She wonders if she has the stamina to walk the path.

She sighs, opens her eyes, turns, grabs a white bath towel, and walks back to the kitchen. Hooking the towel around her neck, she takes a large, round bowl out of the cupboard, reaches into the bag, takes a good handful of yarrow leaves and flowers out, and places them in the bowl. She carries the bowl back to her room and places it on the floor in the spot she made ready for her self-developed ritual. In a half circle are material things that represent some small portion of herself. Her self-portrait, done in oil pastels, sitting in her yoga clothes, encircled by various medicinal plants, cobalt blue medicine bottles, and ravens performing their incredible acrobatics in the air. A necklace of ivory and abalone, made by her grandmother, drapes over one corner of the pastel. Her guitar and a braided bunch of Unalaska sweet grass, picked at a secret sweet grass spot, complete the half circle. Pausing, just to really look at the space, she believes herself ready. She returns to the kitchen just as the kettle begins to boil, grabs a potholder and the kettle. In her room, she places the kettle on the potholder next to the bowl, and facing the east, she sits down in front of it with her outer thighs touching the floor, her knees bent and her ankles crossed.

She is glad that her roommates are not home. The room is still and quiet. Drawing a deep breath, she takes the kettle and pours its contents onto the yarrow in the bowl. While putting the kettle down, she pulls the towel up over her head and leans over the bowl, inhaling the hot, fragrant steam of the yarrow plant. She is preparing herself, making herself ready to complete a circle broken over one hundred fifty years ago. As she breathes in the steam and her face beads with sweat, her mind is racing, going over the many images that the yarrow scent is bringing back.

She remembers her first flight to Unalaska. She is five. Her Mom is taking them home. Home to where her mom grew up. Home to grandparents and a village of Unangax̂. Her older sister says she is crazy, taking them to a remote island so far from Dad. Iklax̂ sleeps most of the flight. She remembers the plane banking sharply and asking her mother, loudly, if it is supposed to do that and the laughter that trickles through the rest of the passengers. Her mother is holding her hand tightly and craning her neck to see out the window. She sees mountains and the Bering Sea, rough and gray on a November day. She remembers the hard landing and the force of the reverse thrusters of the jet engines. She remembers her mom saying that if there were not so many puddles, she would kiss the ground, and she laughs at what a funny sight that would be. She remembers sitting at the table in the dining room of her grandma's house, eating smoked salmon spread on pilot bread crackers, drinking tea and seeing otters diving down into the ocean, popping back up with crab and urchins. She remembers walking on the beach with her grandma and talking her into carrying the huge rock covered in crystals she found to add to her crystal collection. She remembers the incredible cushiony

tundra; how she sinks into it and it cradles her body. She remembers the wild wind and the crashing of the waves on the shore and the Jesus beams coming out of the clouds. She remembers the brilliant emerald green of the hills and mountains of summer and the purple orchids and the wild iris. She remembers walking on a trail with her mom that was made over nine thousand years ago by their ancestors. She remembers her first haul of salmon and filleting them. She remembers a fox that stole her hat, only to drop it in the water. She remembers getting sick on the overwhelming smell of incense at church where she stands for what seems like hours, as she listens to the Father's melodic voice and the chanting of the choir.

As the water cools, she tosses off the towel, gathers the plant matter and places it gently on her cheeks, and she holds it in place until she can lay back. She closes her eyes once again and she tries to clear her mind and balance herself with the earth by thinking of herself cradled in the tundra. She lays there quietly, feeling herself being held and supported. She waits until she feels the urge to continue. She sits up, removes the leaves from her face and places them back in the bowl. She takes up the braided sweet grass and, softly singing about the environment and her duty to care for it, she lights the ends of the sweet grass and pulls the smoke up past her chest and over her head. She breathes it into her soul and sings.

Kudaliiĝin maqax̂takan txichin aguqangin
The way of our beginning, our ancestors
Udaadan tanangin kugan Unangan anangin
Our people's land and sea around here
Ix̂taqangin lulalix matalix anĝaĝiingin matakun
Believe in them and keep them going through time
Aniqdun ngiin aqaaĝan aĝnangin qulingiin akux̂ gumalgakux̂
For those generations not yet seen.

She imagines herself as she moves to the beat of drums, her body flows through the graceful movements of the dance. Her voice lifts the words of her ancestors into the present. In her mind's eye, she wears a traditional dress made of fur seal and otter pelts, adorned with beach-found shells and bird feathers from her father's hunts. Her brown feet are bare, and her ankles are encircled with shells and sea otter fur. Her hair is plaited in two braids. A special ceremonial labret, made of ivory, is inserted in her lower lip. Earrings line the shells of her ears and dangle from her lobes. From the nose bone she has inserted for the ceremony hang ivory beads and shells that she has arranged on strands of sinew. Eagle feathers, with the ends wrapped in whale sinew, adorn her braids and flutter with her movements.

Iklax̂, Iliium, Nawan Alaxsxan, 9000 years ago

I am in the center of the *ulax̂*, just in front of the center post leading up to the opening where exits and entrances are made into our home. It is warm and slightly stuffy in the ulax̂. The long room is filled with women sitting in a half-circle facing me, all wearing their chugax, some with the top portion around their waists due to the heat. I am faced with a rich pallet of brown and black hues. I see otter, seal, bird feather, and sea lion pelts, the women's dark hair and varying skin tones glowing from the light softly thrown by the oil lamps. The sea of feminine faces, faces so much like my own with high cheekbones and dark, half-moon eyes, and breasts of all sizes and shapes before me, make me feel surrounded and supported by these women of my kinglax̂tix̂, my tribe.

Anaadang, my mother, has brought me here. She is the only person I have seen since the onset of my first blood cycle and the beginning of my second one. I am done being a girl. I am a woman. I have been alone in a tiny ula$\hat{x}$ built especially for me to transition me to my new status in life. I was dressed by Anaadang in a sea lion skin with no slit down the front. During this long time, I sat there within an animal hide sewn so my front was covered, seeing no one. Especially not any men. My power during this time is so strong that if a man puts eyes on me, he will become deaf and blind. I sat with this skin with no slit down the front so that my breath would not move the air and my eyes would not see the rain else my tears would flow all the time, forever. Anaadang has collected all my excretions and bloody discharge and buried them in a ditch outside so that the wind will not carry the smell to the animals, for if it does, anything I sew as a woman will make the animals afraid and if I have sewn a skin covering for my husband's *iqya$\hat{x}$*, the animals he is hunting will flee.

I can see the *quga$\hat{g}$ilix*, the spirit shaman, making ready her lamp black and bone awls. I am brought to her and she cleanses my face with *chngaatuuda$\hat{x}$* and cleanses my spirit with the smoke from *tagi$\hat{x}$*, a bundle of sweet grass. She lowers me onto the firm laps of my female mothers and begins to make *angun*, the tattoo marks of my village across my face.

Ikla$\hat{x}$, Santa Fe, New Mexico, September 2002.

She hopes she has prepared herself well. No woman in the Aleutians has received facial tattoos in over 150 years so she has had to make up her own process. Tattoos on the face became taboo with the conversion to the invader's religion. She wonders how her grandmother will feel about her altered state. She knows her mother will approve. Her mother has only told her to be sure of herself as this will alter more than her looks; it will alter the perception of who she is and how she fits in the world. She feels right. She knows this is not a traditional reason for claiming the tattoo. She is not looking to make sure she does not cross lineages when she chooses a partner. This is her own personal way of carrying forward and caring for her culture.

Ikla$\hat{x}$ hears a knock on the door. She knows it is the one she has chosen to put the marks on her face.

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Matrix: A Journal for Matricultural Studies

https://www.networkonculture.ca/activities/matrix

This material was originally published without title in *Alaska Geographic*, Volume 2, Number 4, 1975, p. 24. This is a REPRINT of that material, with permission of the author's literary executor, Dr. Marie-Françoise Guédon.

Untitled

FREDERICA DE LAGUNA, PhD

To understand the customs and history of any people we must study the environment in which they live and which has helped to shape their destinies. We must attempt to capture, if we can, something of what the country means to its inhabitants, because its role in determining their lives has been mediated by what they understand it to be and by what they have made of it. The environment is not for the Tlingit simply the land and sea with natural resources to be exploited. It is much more a community of living beings, where the lines which would draw between man and beast or between the animate and inanimate are blurred or do not exist. The Tlingit shares his world with his nonhuman relatives and fellow creatures just as he shares it with other people.

The Indians believe that the mountains were people in the olden times and St. Elias and Fairweather were married. They had lots of slaves, work people and children. During a family quarrel they separated, Mt. St. Elias traveled west and took a lot of slaves and men with him and from these the range of mountains were formed between Mr. St. Elias and Fairweather. The mountains to the east of Fairweather are their children. A mountain at the head of Akwe River, Mount Raeburn, is the slave of Mt. St. Elias and Mt. Fairweather, whom the owners used to send back and forth with messages.

Glacier spirits were the "inhabitants of inside the glacier." There were both male and female glaciers, and it was the former that were dangerous:

> "The Natives were afraid of the 'people' who lived in a male glacier. You cannot cook near a male glacier for if you do, these 'people' will come out of the glacier and come over and bother you and the only way to stop them coming is to burn all that you have in the fire. But from a female glacier the spirits do not come, so one can cook near a female glacier without being troubled."

It is obvious from the description given by this informant that the "female glacier" is one that has a large medial moraine and is retreating; the "male glacier" is presumably a cleaner white body of ice

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that is either actively advancing or apparently ready to do so, thus Nunatak Glacier, which had been rapidly retreating since 1910 is a “female glacier,” and the broad dark streak down the center of the ice was said to be a woman’s hair, which was formerly parted in the middle and fell down each side of the head.

Not only were glacier spirits repelled by the stench of old clothes burning, but the great glacier that formerly covered Yakutat Bay was supposed to have retreated because a dead dog was thrown into a crevasse and the glacier in Ice Bay melted back because the entrails of a Tsimshian Indian were left there. In these cases, the dead dog and the decaying human flesh acted to waste away the glaciers.

A similar explanation was given to account for the retreat of Nunatak and Hidden Glaciers:

“They believed that a glacier was clean and that if a man fell into a crack of a glacier and rotted, the glacier would retreat.” At the time of the “Nunatak Gold Rush,” when prospectors were using the great glacier to travel between Nunatak Fiord and the Alsek River, a white man fell down a crevasse in Nunatak Glacier, and that is why it has retreated 6 miles between 1910 and 1940.

According to a Yakutat story told by the Reverend Hendrickson to Lieutenant Emmons, the glaciers near Yakutat were formerly selfish and nasty children whom an angry mother turned into ice because they had been unkind to her little daughter.

When descending the Alsek River, people used to put on their best clothing in order to pass under the glaciers that formerly arched over the river. After they were safe beyond the ice they would sing, and it would break behind them in response to their cries of joy.

“One should not speak in a bad way of animals, glaciers, or of such things,” Harrington was told.

Glaciers and mountains are also sensitive to the looks of human beings.

To the Natives, the sea and other bodies of water were considered as alive, or possessed by spirits, for it was possible to appeal to them. One Native group respected as seamen, use the ocean as a symbol, “they call the ocean and the breakers their friend. They always talk to it.”

All living things had souls or indwelling spirits. Those of animals, birds and fish were the most important to the Tlingit.

- Dr. Frederica de Laguna

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Matrix: A Journal for Matricultural Studies

https://www.networkonculture.ca/activities/matrix

Mythological Narratives and Women's Expression in Northern Northwest Coast Art

KIERRA BEAMENT, MA

Abstract

Along the North American Pacific Coast, the Haida, Tsimshian, and Tlingit peoples produce artwork that expresses their rich, cultural history.[1] Material objects such as the Naaxin or Chilkat robes depict classical Northwest Coast clan crests in woven mountain goat wool. Crest designs were formerly described as traditionally created and drawn by men. Women then transferred these motifs onto the Naaxin robes in striking white, black, blue-green, and yellow colours. The Raven's Tail, an older style of robe which was also made by women, did not feature crests. Instead, it displayed geometric motifs designed by the weavers themselves using only white and black pigments and not referring to crests or myths. Similar geometric designs are found on basketry and textile artefacts.

Having just started my inquiry into Indigenous male and female participation in North American Pacific Coast artwork, I turned my attention to the available literature: mainly museum archives on the one hand and mythological texts on the other. Juxtaposing Tlingit, Tsimshian, and Haida mythology and women's concern with geometric design with figurative designs-said to be introduced by masculine concerns with crest images, this report explores mythological narratives about the origins of weaving and basketry, as an entry into a larger project intended to shed some light on women's artistic expression in Northern Northwest Coast art. So far, these narratives demonstrate a great respect for women and the high esteem in which weaving and basketry are held, while the binary gendered opposition between crest art and objects decorated with geometric designs appears attenuated.

[1] I use the term Tsimshian because it is the oldest and most widely used term in the literature and is the most inclusive.

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Keywords: Tsimshian, Haida, Tlingit, oral traditions, women's art, men's art, weaving, basketry, Raven's Tail blanket, Chilkat blanket, Naaxin robe.

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Résumé

Le long de la côte américaine du Pacifique nord, les peuples Haida, Tsimshian and Tlingit produisent de nombreux objects dont les qualités esthétiques font traditionnellement partie de leur production, de leur valeur et de leur usage. Ces objets expriment une histoire culturelle et artistique riche et unique. Entre autres, ces objets incluent des capes ou robes tissées, les couvertures chilkat ou Naaxin, *dont les dessins reproduisent les blasons des clans auxquels appartiennent ceux qui les portent. Les blasons, selon les données ethnographiques classiques, sont typiquement dessinés, peints ou sculptés, par les hommes; les femmes copient ces images dans des couleurs vives (noir, jaune, turquoise et blanc) durant le tissage. Un style plus ancien de cape, aussi tissée par les femmes, appelé « queue de Corbeau », ne représente pas de blason, mais est décoré de motifs géométriques, créés par les femmes avec pour seules couleurs le noir et le blanc. On trouve des motifs similaires sur les paniers et la vannerie.*

À ce stade encore préliminaire de mes recherche sur la participation masculine et féminine dans la création artistique des peuple du Pacifique nord, je me suis trouvée forcée par les circonstance de me tourner d'abord vers les archives muséales, et la littérature, y compris la littérature orale dont les mythes. En juxtaposant les mythologie Haida, Tsimshian, et Tlingit, avec les questions que pose la distribution genrée, probable mais non encore avérée, de la création artistique, potentiellement attribuant le style plutôt figuratif des blasons aux hommes et le style géométrique de la vannerie et du tissage aux femmes, ce rapport de recherche examine les mentions relativement fréquentes des capes naaxin et « queue de Corbeau », ainsi que la vannerie, que l'on trouve dans les mythes. Les récits de l'origine mythique des ces objets montre un grand respect pour les femmes d'une part, et pour le tissage et la vannerie d'autre part, tout en atténuant la distinction entre les genres.

Mots clefs: Tsimshian, Haida, Tlingit, traditions orales, mythologie, arts masculins, arts féminins, tissage, vannerie, cape "queue de corbeau", couverture *Chilkat*, cape *Naaxin*.

Introduction

The Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit peoples dwell on the northern portion of the North American Pacific Coast, in northern British Columbia and southern Alaska. They share a similar environment, a great deal of their material culture, and social structures based on lineage clans. But they speak different languages that belong to three distinct linguistic families and they have developed very divergent worldviews, as exemplified by their varied shamanic practices. While all three societies share

matrilineal descent, their views on women and gender can differ. One commonality shared amongst all three communities is the importance of art in their lives and their social systems.

Most of the Northwest Coast Indigenous artwork noticed and discussed by collectors and acquired by museums can best be defined as crest art, that is, objects decorated with realistic designs representing the crests or heraldic figures identifying the kin that structure the social life of the three Northern Pacific Coast Peoples groups (matrilineal lineages, noble houses, or clans). A second category of ceremonial art recognized by collectors, that of shamanic art, uses a similar figurative style but does not refer to crests. The traditionally feminine arts of weaving and basketry are gaining recognition as a third category.

Led by a primary interest in material culture and the participation of women in the production of culturally and aesthetically significant artefacts, I was struck by a remark made by Haida weaver Delores Churchill in the short documentary "Raven's Tail Journey of Evelyn Vanderhoop," in which Churchill refers to the discontinuation of the Raven's Tail robes. In her opinion, the Naaxin robes were masculine, while the Raven's Tail were feminine, hinting at a fundamental gender difference in North American Northwest Coast art between objects displaying crests (hereditary heraldry) and objects decorated with geometric designs.[2] However, there is little information available in the literature on whether this gender difference is deeply rooted in the cultural context of the Haida, Tsimshian, and Tlingit peoples or how ancient it is. My doctoral research project will explore this question in more depth.

Following an initial exploration into the historical and anthropological research on the participation of women in the production of Northwest coast art, I am sharing the initial results of a preliminary exploration into information contained in myths pertaining to weaving and basketry, that is, Indigenous North American Pacific Coast art traditionally produced by women.

In his book *The Tlingit Indians*, George T. Emmons observes that the geometric designs found on basketry, different from the crest designs found on many Tlingit artefacts, were not abstract designs.

> Design in basketry was geometric, and constituted a noticeably fundamental exception to the characteristic art of the Tlingit, who, in carving, painting, and weaving in animal fabrics…employed only realistic or symbolic animal figures, totemic in character and connected with their social organization…[The basketry motifs] were so realistic in outline that they justify the belief that they were the result of a desire to represent an object, or some characteristic feature, as clearly as possible in geometric form. [3]

[2] "Raven's Tail Journey of Evelyn Vanderhoop," YouTube video, 14:21-14:27 posted by Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, October 11th, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gtPDo-PVGTs&t=4s.
[3] George Thornton Emmons, "Art and Industries: Women's Work," in *The Tlingit Indians*, ed. Frederica de Laguna (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), 220-221.

In *Spruce Root Basketry of the Alaska Tlingit*, Frances Paul discusses how material culture is endowed with spirit: "It is not surprising that the names of the decorative motives in basketry should be based upon the natural objects of his environment."[4]

In recent years, a growing number of studies have brought into question the division of Indigenous arts into 'men's art' and 'women's art'. In their book *Native North American Art*, authors Janet Catherine Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips challenge the Eurocentric image of male art as predominantly sacred and women's craft as secular: Berlo and Phillips argue that, "Too often, items made by women and used in daily life – coiled baskets, beaded moccasins, woven blankets – were not seen to be connected to spiritual or political power, while men's carvings and paintings were."[5] Among all the Haida, Tsimshian, and Tlingit of the Northern Pacific Coast, both men and women are actively involved in the social, political, and ceremonial life of their communities; both wear heraldic regalia with crest designs and both participate in its confection, but perhaps using different materials and, therefore, distinct technology. If there is a strict separation between men's and women's art, could it be based on techniques rather than decorative style or meaning? For example, carving, metalwork, and painting are created by men, while sewing, weaving, beading, and basketry are created by women.

Yet we do not know if this gendered opposition actually exists, or, if it does, how it is defined and understood by the Tsimshian, Haida, and Tlingit peoples. In a separate chapter, "'Encircles Everything': A Transformative History of Native Women's Arts," Berlo and Phillips re-examine and present the bifurcation between men's art and women's craft as a purely European construction, emphasizing that "There is no evidence, linguistic or otherwise, to suggest that Indigenous North Americans ever made such distinctions; they make none today."[6] Similarly, authors Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse and Megan A. Smetzer echo that a gendered divide in creative arts was imposed on Indigenous artists in their article "Working to Change the Tide: Women Artists on the Northwest Coast." In their work, Bunn-Marcuse and Smetzer describe how artistic gender roles did not become restrictive until "…patriarchal laws and institutions of settler colonialism affected the customary status of women and devalued their tangible cultural expressions."[7] Centering their chapter on women's artistic contributions along the Northwest Coast, Bunn-Marcuse and Smetzer introduce the terms resilience, activation, and balance, stating, "Rather than impose art historical and anthropological categories of value, we use the concepts of *resilience*, *activation*, and *balance* as we consider artists who address the central roles of women in the transmission of 'Indigenous cultural knowledge.'"[8]

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[4] Frances Paul, "Pattern Names," in *Spruce Root Basketry of the Alaska Tlingit*, ed. Willard W. Beatty (Lawrence Kansas: U.S Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Branch of Education, 1944), 46.
[5] Janet Catherine Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips, "An Introduction to the Indigenous Arts of North America," in *Native North American Art*, 2nd ed. (New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 40.
[6] Janet Catherine Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips, "'Encircles Everything': A Transformative History of Native Women's Arts," in *Hearts of Our People: Native Women Artists*, eds. Jill Ahlberg Yohe and Teri Greeves (Minneapolis Institute of Art and University of Washington Press, 2019), 46.
[7] Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse and Megan A. Smetzer, "Working to Change the Tide: Women Artists on the Northwest Coast," in *Hearts of Our People: Native Women Artists*, eds. Jill Ahlberg Yohe and Teri Greeves (Minneapolis Institute of Art and University of Washington Press, 2019), 259.
[8] Ibid., 262.

Further, in their chapter in the sub-section "Activation," Bunn-Marcuse and Smetzer describe the artistic gender bias located in archives and numerous literary sources, asserting, "When the majority of publications, most written by men who had limited access to or interest in the practices of women, say that 'men carve, women weave,' that becomes the narrative, closing out the possibility of expressive freedom and creativity by *all genders*" (emphasis in original).[9] While the chapter "Working to Change the Tide" goes into a more detailed analysis on women artists along the Northwest Coast, from some of the earliest historical records to the twenty-first century, Bunn-Marcuse and Smetzer's work highlights the potential fluidity of women's and men's artistic tangible expressions.[10] Finally, in her article "The Scientist and the Polymath: Tlingit Weavers Teri Rofkar and Clarissa Rizal," author Aldona Jonaitis pays tribute to two highly skilled Tlingit weavers, the late Teri Rofkar and Clarissa Rizal. In her essay, Jonaitis draws attention to the lack of recognition concerning women's textile art. Referring to balance within Tlingit culture, Jonaitis describes how Tlingit women's art follows the cycles of nature and are "considered analogous to women's ability to bear children."[11] According to Jonaitis, a Chilkat robe can take as long as four years to complete.[12] The act of weaving is not the only process in the fabrication of the robe. Women must first gather the necessary materials like the wool and cedar bark and process the materials to begin weaving.[13] In the video, "Presentation on Chilkat and Ravenstail Weaving, Celebration 2016," from the Sealaska Heritage Institute, weaver Marsha Hotch offers a detailed account of the work that goes into processing mountain goat wool.[14] Similarly, Della Cheney remarks that the images on the Raven's Tail robes can take three to four months to design.[15]

Several scholars have noted the participation of women in the making of traditionally masculine artefacts. In "Tlingit *At:óow*: Tlingit Traditions and Concepts," Nora Marks Dauenhauer discusses the importance of Tlingit *at:óow* and some of the objects identified as *at:óow*.[16] The unusual Emaciated Shaman Daggar likely was made by a woman.[17] Robin K. Wright's chapter, "The Early Contact Period, 1774 to 1799 *gannyaa*, *gu.uu*, *yaahl dàajee*, *and the Maritime Fur Traders*," examines the journal

[9] Ibid., 264.
[10] Ibid., 258-272.
[11] Aldona Jonaitis, "The Scientist and the Polymath: Tlingit Weavers Teri Rofkar and Clarissa Rizal," in *Hearts of Our People: Native Women Artists*. eds. Jill Ahlberg Yohe and Teri Greeves (Minneapolis Institute of Art and University of Washington Press, 2019), 125.
[12] Ibid., 125.
[13] Ibid.
[14] "Presentation on Chilkat and Ravenstail Weaving, Celebration 2016," Youtube video, 16:18- 34:19, posted by Sealaska Heritage Institute, January 24th, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R1q_ITTgrEY&t=7s.
[15] Ibid., 49:33.
[16] Nora Marks Dauenhauer, "Tlingit At.óow: Tlingit Traditions and Concepts," in *The Spirit Within: Northwest Coast Native Art from the John H. Hauberg Collection*, eds. Helen Abbott, Steven Brown, Lorna Price, and Paula Thurman (Seattle: Rizzoli New York, 1995), 20-29.
[17] Ibid., 42. Other sources that mention the dagger are: Bill Holm, *The Box of Daylight: Northwest Coast Indian Art*, ed. Susan Pelzer (Seattle, Seattle Art Museum and University of Washington Press, 1983), 98; Nancy Harris, "Reflections on Northwest Coast Silver," in *The Box of Daylight: Northwest Coast Indian Art*, ed. Susan Pelzer (Seattle, Seattle Art Museum: University of Washington Press, 1983), 133; and Bunn-Marcuse and Smetzer, 260. In Harris' essay and in Bunn-Marcuse and Smetzer's bibliography (329n14), it is mentioned that the tradition of the dagger's origin was recorded by Russian priest Ivan Veniaminov.

entries of Samuel Burling, clerk to Captain James Rowan. In the entry dated March 20th, 1799, Burling describes "the children waiting upon the old folks and several of the females who were not slaves making wooden pipes."[18] Finally, in the autobiography *During My Time: Florence Edenshaw Davidson, A Haida Woman*, transcribed and edited by Margaret B. Blackman, Edenshaw Davidson recounts when she painted a canoe made by her husband. In her narrative, she expresses her apprehension to paint the canoe, professing, "I don't think women ever used to draw designs in the old days, just men. That's why I was scared when I started painting the canoe."[19]

Whether or not the classification of creative arts has actual historical or pre-historical roots, the gendered division of artistic production is undoubtedly of secondary importance in the contemporary cultural context, which makes it difficult to investigate the matter today. The tradition on which it is supposedly built has to be re-examined. A new perspective on the question is available in the mythological texts that support the Northwest Coast ceremonial life.

What follows is an examination of a potential opposition between ceremonial crest art designed by men and "geometric" or non-crest art designed by women, which could be readily found in the co-existence of two styles of mountain goat wool woven robes. Both are linked to high status, one with geometric designs, the other with crest designs, and both are part of the regalia worn by noble people in all three Indigenous societies.

Raven's Tail Weaving

Thought to have originated among the northern Tlingit nations of Alaska, the Raven's Tail robes predate European contact.[20] In their book *Soft Gold: The Fur Trade and Cultural Exchange on the Northwest Coast*, Thomas Vaughn and Bill Holm confirm the early existence of the Raven's Tail robes, stating, "When European explorers first met the Tlingit and Haida in what is now southeastern Alaska they were deeply impressed by handsome robes woven in complex designs of the wool of some unknown animal."[21]

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[18] Robin K. Wright, "The Early Contact Period, 1774 to 1799 *gannyaa, gu.uu, yaahl dàajee, and the Maritime Fur Traders*," in *Northern Haida Master Carvers* (University of Washington Press: Douglas & McIntyre, 2001), 79. A reference to Haida pipe carving by women is also mentioned in "Working to Change the Tide: Women Artists on the Northwest Coast," 260.

[19] Florence Edenshaw Davidson, "I Quit Having Babies: My Later Years (1939-1979)," in *During My Time: Florence Edenshaw Davidson, A Haida Woman*, transcribed and edited by Margaret B. Blackman (University of Washington Press and Douglas & McIntyre, Ltd., 1982), 126. In the footnotes, Blackman corrects the date from 1939 to either 1936 or 1937. Bunn-Marcuse and Smetzer also discuss the painting of a canoe by Florence Edenshaw Davidson in their chapter, "Working to Change the Tide: Women Artists on the Northwest Coast," 260.

[20] "Three Hundred Years of Tlingit Art," YouTube video, 16:25-16:29, posted by Sealaska Heritage Institute, January 29th, 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6nzvdu1msEM&t=128s.

[21] Thomas Vaughan and Bill Holm, "Textiles and Ceremonial Dress: The Swift Blanket," in *Soft Gold: The Fur Trade and Cultural Exchange on the Northwest Coast of America* (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1982), 110.

In *The Raven's Tail*, Cheryl Samuel describes the fabrication and weaving techniques of the Raven's Tail robes. Woven using only mountain goat wool, Raven's Tail robes are rectangular in shape with linear and geometric line patterns emphasized through the use of black/brown and yellow wool, dyed using hemlock bark and wolf moss, on a plain white backdrop (see Image 1).[22] On most Raven's Tail robes, long black tassels hang from the corners of the central design patterns.[23] While analyzing the robes collected by Cheryl Samuel (*The Raven's Tail*, 1987), I noticed that the tassels present on a number of the Raven's Tail robes were also added to blankets depicting both geometric and crest patterns.[24]

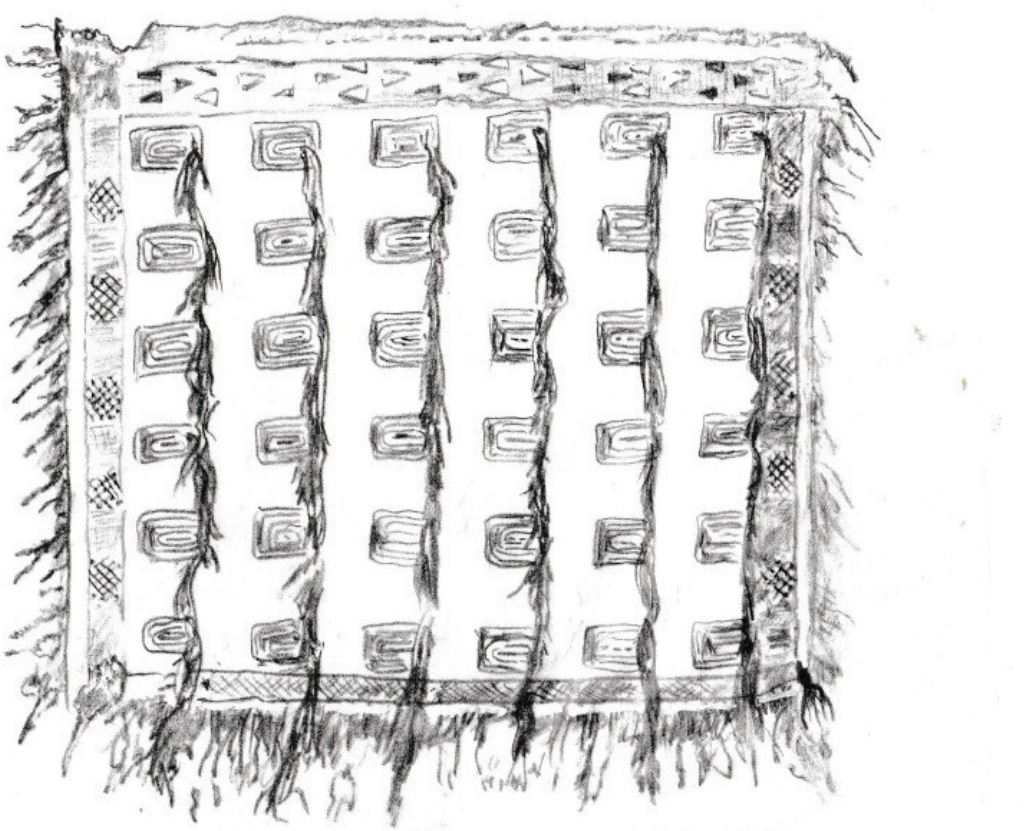

Image 1: "One within Another Fur Sided Robe", a Raven's Tail robe." © Marie-Françoise Guédon 2021. Drawn image derives from the photograph of the original robe; for photograph, see Cheryl Samuel, The Raven's Tail, *78-79; original robe is held in the Kunstkamera Museum, Russia. http://collection.kunstkamera.ru/en.*

'Geometric' patterns are not necessarily simple patterns; their complexity is evident in the elaborate details of their fabrication that requires using more than nine variations of two and three strand

[22] Cheryl Samuel, *The Raven's Tail* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987), 16 and 24.
[23] Ibid., 16, and Vaughan and Holm, 111.
[24] For more information, see Cheryl Samuel, 12-13.

twining.[25] Contemporary authors such as Cheryl Samuel (1987), Bill Holm (1990), Evelyn Vanderhoop (2020) and Megan A. Smetzer (2020) agree that the weaving techniques and geometric designs adorning Raven's Tail robes reflect the twined variations and patterns captured on basketry, variations and patterns which were noted in the early twentieth century by George T. Emmons (1991 [1903]).[26] These designs are often named and identified as stylized representations of plants, animals, and other objects; such motifs include, among others and for instance, the "butterfly" pattern, the "lightning" pattern meant to represent the lightning produced by the thunderbird and the "trail of the land otter."[27] In Tlingit oral narratives only one basket uses motifs displaying crests or hereditary possessions. This basket is called the "Mother Basket" and will be discussed in the section below "Tlingit Oral Narratives."

Raven's Tail robes were also adopted by the Tsimshian peoples, as well as having been woven by the peoples of Haida Gwaii, where they were known as "sky blankets" or "cloud blankets."[28]

Chilkat Weaving

Chilkat dancing blankets, also woven from mountain goat wool and strengthened with yellow or red cedar bark feature elaborate crest designs and were first woven by Tsimshian weavers. The style then spread north to the Tlingit and Haida people, where the Chilkat blankets became known as Naaxin robes.[29] According to Bill Holm, the Naaxin robes derive from woven yellow cedar bark and the Raven's Tail robes.[30] For the most part, the Chilkat robes depict the crest of the local matrilineal clans and noble houses. Using patterns painted on cedar boards by men, women weavers translate the primary images into the weaving.[31] Unlike the Raven's Tail, the wool of the Chilkat robes is twined with cedar bark, which gives the yarn a tenser, more durable form;[32] according to Raven's Tail and

[25] Cheryl Samuel, 16; George T. Emmons, *The Basketry of the Tlingit*, in Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 3 part 2 (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1991 [1903]), 228.
[26] Samuel, 14, 17, and 26; Bill Holm, "Art," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, Vol. 7, Northwest Coast, gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, vol. ed. Wayne Suttles (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 627; Evelyn Vanderhoop, "Soft Robes of Thundering Power: Mountain Goat Fiber Textiles of the Northwest Coast," in *Unsettling Native Art Histories on the Northwest Coast*, eds. Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse and Aldona Jonaitis (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020), 243; Megan A. Smetzer, "Copper Seaweed and Woven Octopus Bags: Shgen George and the Art of Resilience," in *Unsettling Native Art Histories on the Northwest Coast*, eds. Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse and Aldona Jonaitis (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020), 125; Emmons, 228.
[27] Emmons, *The Basketry of the Tlingit*, 263-77.
[28] The "sky blanket' and "cloud blanket" are discussed in Evelyn Vanderhoop's chapter "Soft Robes of Thundering Power: Mountain Goat Fiber Textiles of the Northwest Coast," 242-58.
[29] Cheryl Samuel, *The Chilkat Dancing Blanket* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 22.
[30] Bill Holm, "A Wooling Mantle Neatly Wrought: The Early Historic Record of Northwest Coast Pattern-Twined Textiles–1744-1850," in *American Indian Art Magazine*, vol. 8 no. 1 (Winter, 1982): 36.
[31] Aldona Jonaitis, "Nineteenth-Century Northern Coast Art," in *Art of the Northwest Coast* (University of Washington Press: Douglas & McIntyre, 2006), 139.
[32] Evelyn Vanderhoop, "Soft Robes of Thundering Power: Mountain Goat Fiber Textiles of the Northwest Coast," 243-44.

Chilkat weaver Lily Hope, the cedar bark strips act as a natural insect repellent.[33] The wool is then dyed using vibrant colours of black, yellow, and blue-green.[34]

Among the Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian people, the crest designs are represented in a unique style which Bill Holm refers to as a kind of calligraphy. Holm coined the term *formlines* to describe the curvilinear lines that capture the heraldic representation of the crest animals. Subsequently, the term was adopted by anthropologists and art specialists as well as artists themselves. The advanced techniques of carving and painting the formlines have to be adapted to the more rigid media of weaving. The iconography of the Chilkat robe is specific in its design and execution and follows the calligraphic style of the Northwest Coast ceremonial art (see Image 2).[35]

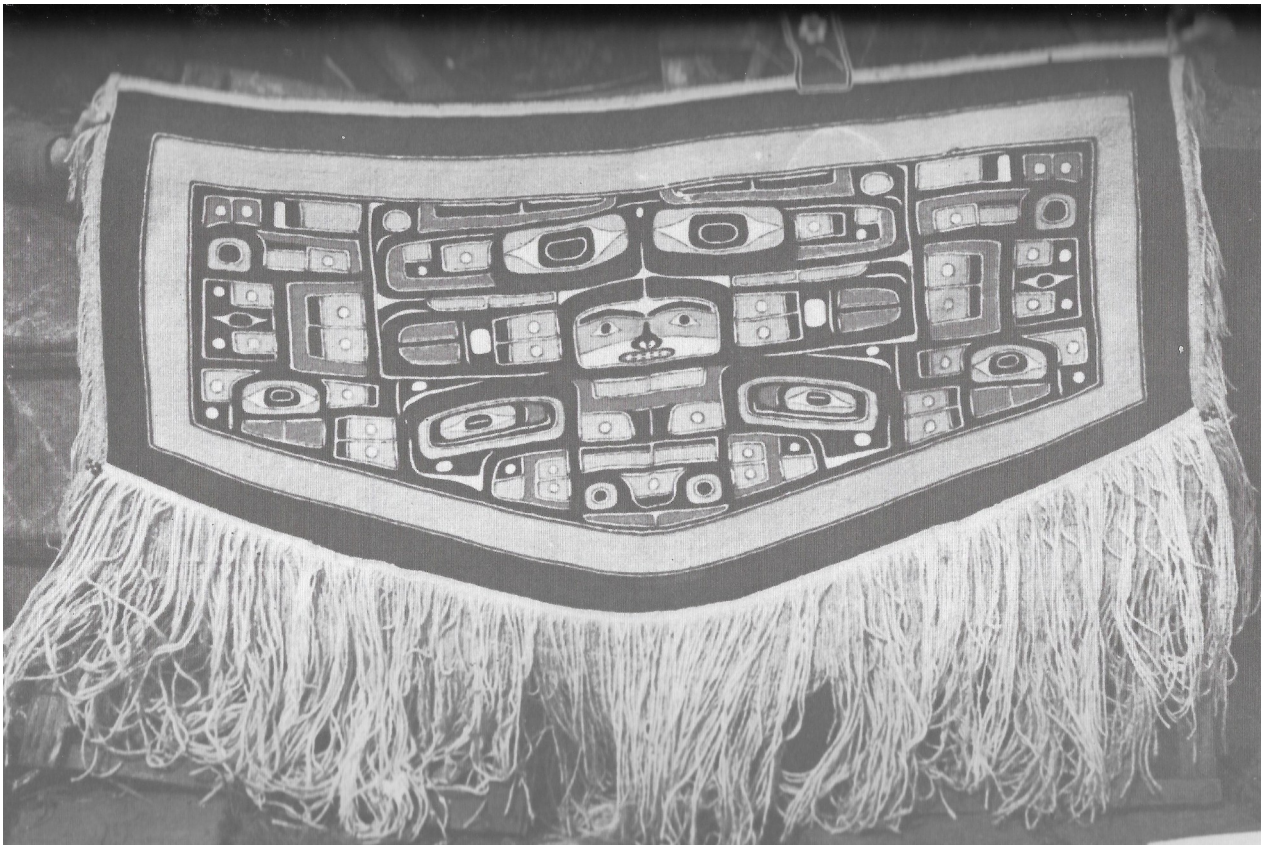

Image 2: Naaxin robe depicting the Raven. According to Frederica de Laguna's description, the blanket had formerly belonged to Anna Daknaqin, Tl'uknax̲adi. The robe has a Raven design and a beaded Raven neckband (not shown in the photograph). The image was taken at Yakutat, 1949. © Frederica de Laguna (1972; 2018), Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit, *Vol. 3, Gatineau, QC: Frederica de Laguna Northern Books, p. 1065; reprinted with permission.*

[33] "Lily Hope Chilkat Weaver" Youtube video, 1:15, posted by Lily Hope Weaver, March 1st, 2017. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YraJBuYfRgk&t=3s
[34] Cheryl Samuel, "Materials, Spinning, and Dyeing," in *The Chilkat Dancing Blanket*, 66-70.
[35] Bill Holm, "Elements of the Art," in *Northwest Coast Indian Art: An Analysis of Form, 50th Anniversary Edition* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014), 35.

Holm further elaborates on the complex techniques used by weavers when composing the central design field by describing them as *configurative*, *expansive*, and *distributive* - terms through which he captures the degree of realism in the woven designs of the Naaxin robes. Configurative designs showcase the crest animal in its original form and are easy to identify as the Killer Whale, Raven, Frog, etc. The expansive designs produced by weavers only slightly distort the original image and fragments of the animal's original anatomy are still visible to some extent. However, distributive designs are intended to fill the given space of the Naaxin robes, and therefore the shape of the animal is unrecognizable within the final product. Thus, the images are intended to be representative of the animal while, at the same time, unidentifiable.[36]

Wearing a crest design publicly announces an individual's name, rank, and position within his or her kin groups. Among the Tlingit, tangible objects such as the Naaxin robes displaying *at:óow* (crests) belong to a specific family or clan. Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer describe *at:óow*, as follows:

> The word at:óow means, literally, "an owned or purchased thing." The concepts of "thing" on the one hand, and "owned," or "purchased," on the other, are equally important. The "*thing*" (emphasis in original) may be land (geographic features such as a mountain, a landmark, an historical site, a place such as Glacier Bay) a heavenly body (the sun, the dipper, the milky way) a spirit, a personal name, an artistic design, or a range of other "things." It can be an image from oral literature such as an episode from the Raven cycle on a tunic, hat, robe or blanket; it can be a story or song about an event in the life of an ancestor… At.óow can also be spirits of various kinds: shaman spirits and spirits of animals.[37]

Whether tangible or intangible, owned or purchased, the right by an individual, or a kin group to *at:óow* is essential in the Tlingit social and ritual system. A similar importance is attached to kin groups' tangible and intangible ceremonial property among the Haida and Tsimshian. In *Structural Anthropology*, Claude Lévi-Strauss notes that the meaning of art among all Northwest Coast peoples is an extension of social organization. He explains that "Motifs and themes express rank differences, nobility privileges, and degrees of prestige…organized along similar hierarchical lines and their decorative art functioned to interpret and validate the ranks in the hierarchy."[38]

A new context for the question, explored here, is available in the mythological texts that support Northwest Coast ceremonial life and worldview. The two types of robes are present but find distinct expressions in the mythological narratives. Also present in the mythological narratives are other items of regalia such as aprons, cedar bark robes, spruce root hats, and basketry, which are treated with

[36] Bill Holm, "Symbolism and Realism," in *Northwest Coast Indian Art*, 11-12.
[37] Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer, eds., *Haa Tuwunáagu Yis, for Healing Our Spirit: Tlingit Oratory*," Classics of Tlingit Oral Literature 2 (University of Washington Press, 1990), 14-15.
[38] Claude Lévi-Strauss, "Split Representation in the Art of Asia and America," in *Structural Anthropology* (Basic Books, 1967), 256.

equivalent respect, thus enlarging the context to other artefacts produced by women (see Images 3 and 4).

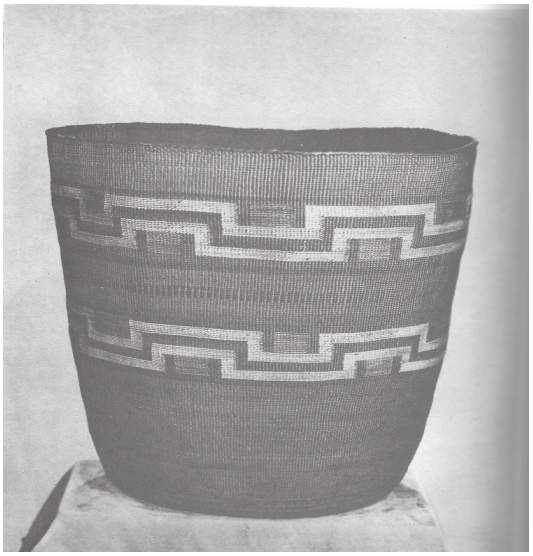

Image 3: Spruce root basket decorated with coloured grass using a false embroidery technique. Collected by George T. Emmons at Yakutat prior to 1888. The dimensions of the basket are unknown. (AMNH E/2318; neg. No. 31667). © Frederica de Laguna (1972; 2018), Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit, *Vol. 3, Gatineau, QC: Frederica de Laguna Northern Books, p. 1050; reprinted with permission.*

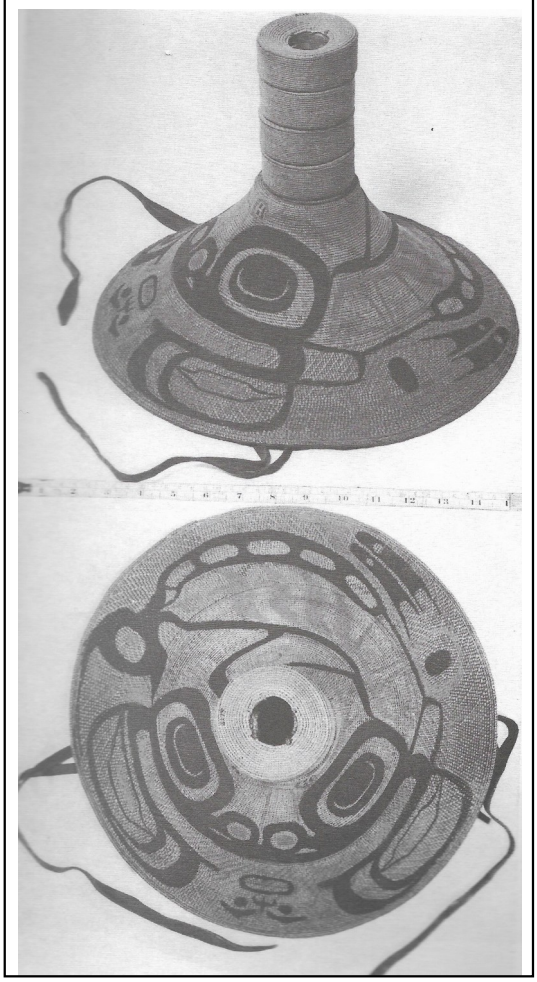

Image 4: Yakutat crest hat with four cylinders on top. The hat is a woven spruce root hat with a killer whale design painted in black, red, and blue. Collected by William S. Libbey, Yakutat 1886 (PU 5179). © Frederica de Laguna (1972; 2018), Under Mount Saint Elias: The History and Culture of the Yakutat Tlingit, Vol. 3, Gatineau, QC: Frederica de Laguna Northern Books, p. 1071; reprinted with permission.

Furthermore, it must be mentioned that the mythological literature of the North American Pacific Coast, whether Tsimshian, Haida, or Tlingit, features women as key protagonists and sometimes as main characters. The oral traditions outlined below represent only a small fraction of the narratives

recited along the Northern Northwest Coast, along with the mentioning of women's art, as this foray into mythology is still very much in its beginning stages.

Tsimshian Oral Traditions

The Tsimshian oral traditions relating the origins of weaving usually give the main role to a woman who returns home with the knowledge of weaving robes after visiting supernatural beings.

In *The Chilkat Blanket*, Emmons offers two different versions of the Tsimshian story on the origin of the Chilkat Dancing Blanket.[39] The narrative begins with he marriage between the daughter of a Chief and a member of the Bear family. Some time after the marriage, the young woman escapes and runs to the shore, where she sees a fisherman in his canoe. The fisherman refuses to come to shore unless the young woman marries him. Agreeing, the young woman boards the canoe, then realizes that the fisherman is not human but rather Ḳonaqadē't, a benevolent spirit recognized throughout the Northwest Coast. Ḳonaqadē't takes her to his house under the sea:

> Upon reaching his abode, he wrapped her in his canoe-mat of cedar bark, and carried her through the house to the rear apartment, telling her that she must pay no attention to anything she might hear or see. Looking through the cracks in the partition, she saw the Lynx wife weaving a beautiful robe, which was the original Chilkat blanket.[40]

When the young woman manages to go home, she takes with her the knowledge of Chilkat weaving and a crest figure that might be that of Ḳonaqadē't.

In the second version, a young woman married to Ḳonaqadē't decides one day to leave her house under the sea to return to the human world. She takes her son and a new crest with her.

> As the prevailing system of matriarchy gives the children wholly to the mother, and requires that the boy be trained by the maternal uncle, he [Ḳonaqadē't] consented to let his wife return to earth, on the condition that she should not forget him; and to this end she promised to weave for him a ceremonial robe commemorative of their meeting and courtship. (…) And this was the origin of the Chilkat blanket.[41]

In both versions, the Chilkat blanket has a supernatural origin. In "The Scientist and the Polymath: Tlingit Weavers Teri Rofkar and Clarissa Rizal," Aldona Jonaitis examines these narratives and notes that the robe and its motifs are designed and fabricated by the young woman. There is no mention of a pattern board being created by Ḳonaqadē't and later used by the young woman.[42]

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[39] George T. Emmons, *The Chilkat Blanket*, Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 3. Part 4 (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1903), 329-30 and 330.
[40] Ibid., 330
[41] Ibid.
[42] Aldona Jonaitis, "The Scientist and the Polymath: Tlingit Weavers Teri Rofkar and Clarissa Rizal," 124.

In the story "The Kikiata and his Wooden Wife," related in 1954 by Dan Gosnell, recorded by William Beynon, and later published in Marius Barbeau's *Tsimshian Narratives: Volume 1*, the narrative follows a young hunter who comes across a rich valley with an abundance of hunting game, salmon, berries, and "rice."[43] Judging that this is the ideal place to live, the hunter decides it is time for him to marry before settling in. After refusing many young women, the young hunter marries the daughter of a poor widow. Every day the hunter goes out hunting and returns with a mountain goat, which is prepared by both himself and his wife. Eventually, there is enough wool to be spun for weaving, so the young hunter makes a weaving board for the young woman so she can begin weaving dancing blankets while her husband is away. But the hunter is too greedy and kills too much game; as a result, the animals of the valley and forest curse the hunter's wife. She sickens and dies. In his sadness and grief, the young hunter paints an image of his wife onto wood and places it in front of the loom so that she may continue to weave the dancing robes. One day, while he is away visiting his village, two sisters from a nearby hunting party enter the young hunter's house, where they find the wooden wife. They decide to hide in the hunter's home and, upon his return, find him talking to his wooden wife. The hunter discovers the two women hiding under a pile of animal furs and offers them food, then decides to marry the youngest sister. The story concludes: "So the young hunter took his new wife and her sister lived with them and the man taught these two women the art of weaving and they were better than his first wife."[44]

This particular ending deserves further attention since here it is a man who teaches the women to weave. The narrative suggests the possibility that in the past, gendered divisions may not have played as significant a role in artistic production as currently assumed.

In *The Dancing Chilkat*, Cheryl Samuel recounts the tale of the fabrication of 'The First Dancing Apron' (an apron is woven using the same materials as the Chilkat robes).[45] This origin story features a widow and her daughter who reside along the Skeena River. One time, during the winter months, both animals and people grow very hungry. In the Chief's house, the young woman likes to sit at the back of the house and look at the paintings on the house screen, which come to life with the glow of the fire. Absent-mindedly, she begins to weave the images found on the screen into a robe. As she does this, the snow begins to melt and spring arrives, ushering in an abundance of food. As she continues to weave, the young woman creates an apron which she attaches to caribou hide and adds layers of leather fringes to the border; this gains much attention and admiration from guests for its intricacy and craftsmanship. To the bottom, she carefully sews puffin beaks along with deer hooves, thus finishing the garment. When summer arrives, and the robe is finished, the Chief's son marries the widow's daughter, and a celebration and feast are held. The Chief dances in the apron, which gains much attention and admiration from guests for its intricacy and craftsmanship. After the celebrations, news of the apron spreads throughout the Northwest Coast, where talented women begin to be commissioned to create such robes in the same style. The young woman and her mother teach

[43] Dan Gosnell. "The Kikiata and his Wooden Wife," in Marius Barbeau et al., *Tsimshian Narratives: volume 1: Tricksters, shamans, and heroes* (University of Ottawa Press, 1987), 217-9.
[44] Ibid., 219.
[45] Cheryl Samuel, "Origin, Ceremony, and Design," *The Chilkat Dancing Blanket*, 20-21.

weavers the art of weaving Chilkat robes. According to the narrative, as retold by Samuel, this is how the Tsimshian became renowned weavers of the Chilkat robes.

As in other narratives, this story emphasizes the importance of the Chilkat robes as originating in the supernatural world and their value to the community. It is worth considering that the creative act resulting in the new apron is attributed to a young woman.

Tlingit Oral Traditions

While the geometric designs that adorn the Raven's Tail may have been inspired by basketry, basketry itself, like the Naaxin blanket, is also grounded in mythology. According to Tlingit mythological narratives, there was once a young woman who was married to the Sun.

> For long years they lived happily together, and many children came to them; but these were of the earth, and their future filled the mother's mind with anxiety. One day, sitting idly thinking, she picked up some strands of a root, and carelessly plaited them together, twisting them in and out until a small basket was formed. The Sun increased its size until it was large enough to contain the mother and her eight children, and in it they were lowered to the earth near Yakutat. This was the first basket, and from it was learned the art of weaving.[46]

While the historical origins of basket-making remain a mystery, the importance of basketry in the cultures of the Pacific Northwest is undeniable. Baskets are made from spruce roots harvested at different cycles of the plant's growth and decorated with an assortment of grasses and other plants.[47] The images on the baskets are mostly geometric and are the source of inspiration for the designs on the Raven's Tail (see above).

A basket itself could become a crest, as related in several versions of the origins of the Mother Basket, a widespread Tlingit myth. One version, "Mountain Dweller," tells the story of two sisters who are not allowed to eat between meals.[48] One day, their mother catches the two sisters eating food between meals and she takes the food out of her eldest daughter's mouth, scratching her as she does this. In anger, she shouts at her eldest daughter that she should marry Mountain Dweller, known for his reputation as a skilled hunter, if she is so hungry. That night the two sisters run away into the forest; they come across Mountain Dweller, who invites them into his home and gives them plenty of food. Mountain Dweller eventually marries the eldest sister and, after several months, suggests that the two sisters visit their family. He instructs his wife to weave a tiny basket, which he then shakes until it is large; Mountain Dweller fills the entirety of the basket with food and gifts for his in-laws. He shakes

[46] Emmons, *The Basketry of the Tlingit*, 229.
[47] Ibid., 233.
[48] John R. Swanton, "Mountain Dweller," in *Tlingit Myths and Texts* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1909), 222-24.

the basket again so that it will resume its original size.[49] When arriving at their village, the sisters leave the basket in the woods until they have seen their family and then go themselves to retrieve the basket. The eldest sister takes the basket and expands it in front of her family to show her mother all the food that she has brought for her relatives and her community. The basket given by Mountain Dweller is called the Mother Basket.[50]

The Mother Basket also receives a mention in *The Whale House of the Chilkat* by George T. Emmons. He writes: "The basket, although at least two generations old, has been carefully cared for so that it is in an excellent state of preservation. It is named Kuhk-claw 'basket mother' on account of its great size, measuring 33 inches in both height and diameter."[51]

Again, in his reflection on Emmon's work, Frances Paul in *Spruce Root Basketry of the Alaska Tlingit* expands on the description of the Mother Basket mentioned by Paul:

> All the choicest heirlooms of the respective families were brought out from their storage boxes in honour of the occasion… The Tlingit were accustomed to identify all articles of special totemic value with names. Ordinarily basketry has no totemic significance, but this particular basket was an unusual one in that it had a name and a history. It was called "Mother-basket" (kuhku-klah), and it was famous throughout the Tlingit country.[52]

A further detailed analysis is offered by Bill Holm in his chapter "Art" in *Handbook of North American Indians* on the Northwest Coast. In it Holm refers to the imagery woven into the Mother Basket, stating, "Like most Chilkat baskets it was undecorated except of self-patterning in the weave, but many Tlingit baskets were more or less elaborately patterned with a combination of self-designs produced by variations in the twinning, dyed weft, and false embroidery with coloured grasses in geometric bands."[53]

Haida Oral Traditions

The term used by the Haida peoples for the Chilkat robe is Naaxin. A second blanket, frequently referred to within Haida oral traditions and often linked to supernatural beings is the "sky blanket" or "cloud blanket."[54] In his translation of original Haida material, *Haida Texts and Myths, Skidegate Dialect*, John R. Swanton relates numerous early Haida stories that mention the sky blanket and the Naaxin.

[49] Ibid., 223.
[50] Ibid., 224.
[51] George T. Emmons, *The Whale House of the Chilkat* (New York: The Trustees, 1916), 19.
[52] Frances Paul, "The Mother-basket of the Chilkat," *Spruce Root Basketry of the Alaska Tlingit*, 69.
[53] Bill Holm, "Art," in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 623.
[54] In her article "Soft Robes of Thundering Power: Mountain Goat Fiber Textiles of the Northwest Coast,"Haida weaver Evelyn Vanderhoop points to the possibility that the "sky blankets" or "cloud blankets" may or may not be referring to the Raven's Tail Robes. Vanderhoop also focuses on Haida oral narratives and question whether the robes presented in the narratives are, in fact, the Raven's Tail. Vanderhoop, 245.

The first story, 'Raven Traveling', narrates the story of Raven and his encounter with supernatural beings.[55] At the beginning of the saga, Raven notices a woman in the water. After approaching her three times, Raven takes the woman into his canoe where she is described as wearing a "dancing skirt and dancing leggings."[56] After removing the woman's apron and leggings, Raven leaves her in a house he has been carrying with him. While continuing on his journey, Raven throws off his hair tie and walks across it until he reaches a house now called "House point." Peeking through the cracks of the House point walls, he sees a newborn baby. Waiting until nightfall, Raven slips into the skin of the newborn child, whereby he himself becomes the newborn.

One morning, Raven fastens together a string of shells and makes a pair of rattles. He then goes to a grave and unravels part of the grave mats and strings the shells along the unwoven fringes creating a dancing apron. The story gives no information regarding how Raven weaves the dancing aprons and whether he was taught the art of weaving by the woman he found in the lake or if he already had prior knowledge of weaving textiles. Raven then awakens the ghost of the grave and instructs him to start dancing and waving the rattles; as in shamanic performances, Raven tells the ghost, "Walk in front of the town. When you reach the middle wave the rattle in front of you toward the houses. A deep sleep will fall then upon them."[57] Raven then spends the night with three women, including Floodtide Woman.

When news of their cohabitation spreads throughout the community, Floodtide Woman and Raven have to leave their community. After some time, Floodtide Woman and Raven come across her brothers' home, where she is invited to stay with her brother and sister-in-law. In the morning, while the uncle is away hunting, Raven goes outside and puts on two sky blankets. "He (Raven) then went out and stood up out of himself (i.e., changed himself). He put on two sky blankets and painted his face."[58]

One day, Raven enters his uncle's home and declares that he is to be adopted. As he says this, ten canoes appear, all carrying people who are dancing. Raven puts on two sky blankets and begins to walk on the retaining planks. As he does this, Raven kicks his foot on the right side of his uncle's house, and the earth cracks open. He does the same to the left side, and the earth cracks open again; he continues this at the back of the house as well. From his uncle's house, members of the Tsimshian, Haida, Kwakiutl, and Tlingit peoples come singing different songs.

The second Haida narrative, entitled 'A-Slender-One-Who-Was-Given-Away', recounts the story of a young woman who is taken to the edge of the sky by a supernatural being and later rescued by her father's servant.[59] The story begins with a Chief's young daughter to whom ten canoes mysteriously

[55] Sky, John, of Those-born-at-Skedans, 'Raven Travelling', in John R. Swanton, *Haida Texts and Myths, Skidegate Dialect* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1905), 110-50.
[56] Ibid., 115.
[57] Ibid.,119.
[58] Ibid., 121. Throughout the story, Raven often changes skins.
[59] John R. Swanton, "A-Slender-One-who-was-given-away (NAÑĻDĀ'SLAS) in *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, ed. Franz Boas, Vol 5 (The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, 1905), 185. A more detailed account of the narrative can be found in John Sky of Those-born-at-Skedans, 'A-

start coming to visit every day. In the canoes, passengers dance until they arrive in front of the young woman's village; each day she refuses them, and they are sent away.[60] After many visits, one day, a Chief 'wearing a broad hat' arrives in a hair-seal canoe; the hat is a surf-bird and Swanton notes that hair-seal canoes are generally used by supernatural beings in these tales.[61] As happened with the other visitors, the young woman refuses the Chief in the hair-seal canoe and sends him away.

When the Chief's young daughter rejects him, the hat of the Chief in the hair-seal canoe begins to swirl with foam, and water bubbles up from the earth. In fear of being swallowed up by the rising water, the people of the town dress up one of the young woman's servants: "And they painted her. And they put red cirrus clouds[62] on her and two clear-sky blankets." However, the Chief in the hair-seal canoe knows that the woman dressed in two clear-sky blankets is not the Chief's real daughter and he refuses her. Then the Chief disguises his daughter's ten servants with marten-skin blankets and sends them to the Chief in the hair-seal canoe; the Chief in the hair-seal canoe refuses them. Finally, the young woman herself goes down to the shore along with her ten servants and they board the Chief in the hair-seal's canoe. The Chief in the hair-seal canoe then offers his hat, which belongs to his father and is covered with surf birds, as a gift to the young woman's father.

After a little bit, the Chief asks one of his servants to find his daughter. With the help of the young woman's mother, the servant embarks on his journey to find the Chief's daughter. Before leaving on their quest, the servant, skilled at hunting, takes his sea-otter spear and throws it into the water. The spear begins to glide through the water, leading the servant and the young girl's mother to "the edge of the sky."[63] Eventually, the two come to the village in which the daughter now resides. Once on the shore, the young woman's mother hides beneath the overturned canoe. Going to the village of supernaturals, the servant encounters Property Woman, who informs him that the Chief of the supernatural community, father of the young man who has married the Chief's daughter, has 'thought grease' into the young woman's head for being the reason his hat was lost.[64]

When the servants finds the young woman, she is now residing in a cave. Unable to persuade the young woman to move, the servant puts on his two yellow cedar bark blankets and walks among the beings in the village. Upon entering the Chief of the supernatural community's house, the servant sees a weaver weaving a chiefly dancing blanket (Naaxin robe). The robe begins to whisper to him,

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Slender-One-Who-Was-Given-Away,' in John R. Swanton, *Haida Texts and Myths, Skidegate Dialect* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1905), 151-59. I will be using this narrative for my research report.

[60] John Sky of Those-born-at-Skedans, 'A-Slender-One-Who-Was-Given-Away,' 151. For ease of identification, here the father of the young daughter is referred to simply as the 'Chief', the supernatural being in the canoe is referred to as 'Chief in the hair-seal canoe', and the father of the supernatural being in the canoe is referred to as the Chief of the supernatural community.

[61] Ibid., 148.

[62] The context of the text does not indicate whether the red cirrus clouds are part of the painted design or whether they refer to another style of robe.

[63] John Sky of Those-born-at-Skedans, 'A-Slender-One-Who-Was-Given-Away,' 152-3.

[64] Ibid., 153. In his field notes, Swanton states that specific actions can be accomplished by the mind or thinking the action into existence. Swanton, *Haida Texts and Myths, Skidegate Dialect*, 171n7.

saying: 'To-morrow, too, one of my eyes [will still be] unfinished, unfinished."[65] As the young man is looking through the screen of the house, he is almost recognized by Mink Woman, who mistakes his scent for one of the ten companions that were with the young woman when she left her home. Mink Woman states, "It was the yellow cedar-bark blankets of the Chief's child's ten servants whom they ate, which I am wearing, that I smelt."[66] Walking through the Chief's house, the young man learns that if he returns the surf-bird hat to the Chief of the supernatural community, the young woman will be able to return home.

The servant returns to his canoe, where he discovers years have passed and the young woman's mother has died; only her skeleton remains. He rubs the skeleton with one of his yellow cedar-bark blankets to rub the skeleton, which restores her to life. He and the mother return to their own community, where they inform the Chief that the surf-bird hat is the price of his daughter's return. Organized by the Chief, several men and women, including the young woman's brothers and their spouses Mouse Woman and Chief Woman (who wears a copper blanket), take the surf-bird hat to barter for the young woman. Upon arriving at the Chief of the supernatural community's village, the people are greeted by the Chief of the supernatural community's son (who was the Chief in the hair-seal canoe); he accepts his father's hat in return for the young woman. Before departing, all the humans are invited to join the supernatural community in a feast, where the Chief of the supernatural community splits in two pieces; feathers pour out from his body. Before leaving, the young woman hears her father-in-law's voice, the Chief of the supernatural community, telling her that she will give birth to him. He instructs her that, after he is reborn, she is to place him in a cradle made by a master carver and painted with cumulus clouds. The young woman follows the instructions and delivers the baby as warned; on the day of his birth, the master carver carves the cradle using cumulus cloud patterns and he baby is dressed in two sky blankets.

A third narrative in which sky blankets and, later, the dancing blanket play a central role is 'Supernatural-Being-Who-Went-Naked.'[67] In the story, Super-Natural-Being-Who-Went-Naked goes on a quest to bring his brothers back home. Before leaving, his mother gave two sky blankets to him. While walking, Supernatural-Being-Who-Went-Naked comes across Mouse Woman, who gives him medicine and tells him where to find his younger brothers. As he continues to search for his brothers, Super-Natural-Being-Who-Went-Naked begins to hear a noise that sounds like a drum. Pursuing the noise, he comes upon a trail that has been recently walked on and decides to follow the trail to find the source of the drumming sound. Eventually, Super-Natural-Being-Who-Went-Naked sees a house and looking inside he sees a woman wearing a brownish red cedar bark blanket with twisted threads. Supernatural-Being-Who-Went-Naked enters the house of Gā'gix.īt woman and finds two of his brothers stuck together.[68] Unable to separate the two, Supernatural-Being-Who-Went-Naked departs.

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[65] John Sky of Those-born-at-Skedans, 'A-Slender-One-Who-Was-Given-Away,' 153.
[66] Ibid., 154.
[67] John Sky of Those-born-at-Skedans, 'Supernatural-Being-Who-Went-Naked,' in John R. Swanton, *Haida Texts and Myths, Skidegate Dialect* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1905), 210-26.
[68] According to Swanton, Gā'gix.īt are creatures deprived of their senses by land otters. Swanton, *Haida Texts and Myths, Skidegate Dialect*, 225n9.

Upon returning home, Supernatural-Being-Who-Went-Naked is “deprived of both his blankets” and, in one instance, does not recognize them when they are returned to him.[69]

Later, Supernatural-Being-Who-Went-Naked comes across what appears to be an abandoned town. Inside one of the houses lives an older man who offers food to Supernatural-Being-Who-Went-Naked, but nothing to drink. While getting himself some water, Supernatural-Being-Who-Went-Naked finds himself inside a stomach. He stretches himself until the stomach bursts. Out from the stomach with him come the bones of those from the abandoned town. Supernatural-Being-Who-Went-Naked spits healing medicine on the bones, and the people are resurrected. As a gift, the older man paints Supernatural-Being-Who-Went-Naked’s face and gives him two sky blankets. The story concludes with Supernatural-Being-Who-Went-Naked returning home, where he gives a sky blanket to his sister and dons a dancing blanket and dancing leggings. In her article, “Soft Robes of Thundering Power: Mountain Goat Fiber Textiles of the Northwest Coast,” Evelyn Vanderhoop describes the gifting of the sky blankets and the adorning of the dancing blanket as a sign of the hero’s transformation.[70]

All three narratives, ‘Raven Traveling,’ ‘A-Slender-One-Who-Was-Given-Away,’ and ‘Supernatural-Being-Who-Went-Naked,’ are far too long to be given in full for this research report. However, the summaries provided above highlight that the importance of woven objects in the supernatural world is undeniable and demonstrate that such objects have a life or power of their own.

A fourth story, entitled ‘Tc!AAWU’NK!^{A},’ describes the events in the life of a young child who is raised by his grandmothers and extended family.[71] One day while hunting, he sees a heron with a broken beak. Unsure of what to do, he tells his grandmother; she instructs him that “When you again see it, sharpen its bill.” After helping the heron, the bird says, “I will help you, grandchild.” After saving the heron and with help from his grandmother, the young boy becomes skilled at deadfall traps. As the young boy grows older, he begins acting like a shaman, which means that, upon questioning by his grandmother, he tells her that he has found it easier to gather things since sharpening the heron's bill. In response, his grandmother fashions for him a “dancing skirt from an old mat. She took off the edge on one side and fastened something to it. She also made a shaman’s bone for him.”[72] The young man later becomes a shaman and is credited for saving the life of a Chief's son.

Although relatively short in comparison to the other narratives described, the story of ‘Tc!AAWU’NK!^{A}’ potentially offers a window into women’s art production and materials, where the grandmother makes her grandson a dancing skirt and shaman’s bone. It is not mentioned whether the

[69] Ibid., 215-216, and Swanton, *Haida Texts and Myths, Skidegate Dialect*, 225n19.
[70] Evelyn Vanderhoop, “Soft Robes of Thundering Power: Mountain Goat Fiber Textiles of the Northwest Coast.” 252.
[71] Jimmy Sterling of the StA’stas family, ‘Tc!AAWU’NK!^{A},’ in John R. Swanton, *Haida Texts and Myths, Skidegate Dialect*. (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1905), 58 – 69.
[72] Ibid., 60. Swanton refers to the edge of the dance skirt as being fastened with a “fringe or row of puffin beaks.” Swanton, *Haida Texts and Myths, Skidegate Dialect*, 69n3.

grandmother carved the bone. However, the bone itself is of great value to the young man and is used in his performances and rituals.[73]

Finally, the last narrative in this research report is 'How Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens (Sîns Sgā'nagwa-i) let Himself be Born' from John R. Swanton's *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*.[74] The short story begins with a young woman and her servant being abandoned on the beach by her community. On the beach, the young woman digs in the sand and finds a cockle-shell with an infant inside. As the child begins to grow quickly, the young woman fashions for him copper arrows and a copper bow which the young man uses to hunt birds. One day the young man goes fishing with his father, the Master-Carpenter; while fishing, his father catches the Chief of halibut. The father then paints the young man, and the young man visits his (maternal) uncle. After trying on his blankets (which in this story are described as 'cloud blankets'), he tells his mother that if he stands in certain inlets wearing his 'cloud blanket,' the weather will be nice. In this story, the young woman engages in metal work to produce copper arrows and a copper bow.

The story, as the other stories recounted above, suggests women's historical contribution to Northwest Coast artistic material culture. Supporting this suggestion, in "Soft Robes of Thundering Power," when Vanderhoop refers to the story 'How Shining-Heavens-Caused-Himself-To-Be-Born,' she states, "Haida world view encompassed the idea that designs could influence elements of the natural world."[75]

In the four Haida narratives, many objects made by women hold immense value to both human and mythical beings and hold important functions in both human and non-human realms. One of these functions is to act as mediators between the two realms. These objects include the sky blankets and a marten-skin blanket, both of which are used to indicate rank and status, as well as the Chief of the supernatural community's surf-bird hat with its supernatural powers, and, prominently, the "dancing blankets" or Naaxin robes which are worn by mythical beings and endowed with the ability to communicate with people.

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[73] Jimmy Sterling of the StA'stas family, 62. For a detailed discussion, see, Nika Jisgang Collison, "Stl'inll~Those with Clever Hands: Presenting Female Indigenous Art and Scholarship," in *Unsettling Native Art Histories on the Northwest Coast*, eds. Kathryn Bunn-Marcuse and Aldona Jonaitis (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2020), 95-116. In her analysis of the narrative, Collison argues that the success of 'Tc!aawu'nk!A' as a shaman is attributed to the dancing apron, carved bone, and songs provided by his grandmother. She writes: "That it took the potent ability of an elderly woman to propel the young man's talents into public acceptance is grand testament to the power of women's creations.", 99.

[74] John R. Swanton, "How Power-of-the-Shining-Heavens (Sîns Sgā'nagwa-i) let Himself be born," in *Contributions to the Ethnology of the Haida*, ed. Franz Boas, Vol 5 (The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History, 1905), 189-90.

[75] Evelyn Vanderhoop, "Soft Robes of Thundering Power: Mountain Goat Fiber Textiles of the Northwest Coast," 250. The story 'How Shining-Heavens-Caused-Himself-To-Be-Born,' can be found in John R. Swanton, *Haida Texts and Myths Skidegate Dialect*. In this version, the young woman takes her copper bracelets and hammers them out to create the copper arrows and copper bow used by the young hunter. For the full narrative, see Walter McGregor of the Sealion-town people, "How Shining-Heavens-Caused- Himself-To-Be-Born," in John R. Swanton, *Haida Texts and Myths, Skidegate Dialect* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1905), 26-31.

Conclusion

The brief literature review introducing this report emphasizes two questions: The first concerns the possible separation of women's art from men's art; the second question focuses on the difference between crest art style and geometric art style and their potential gendered expression. The brief examination of a few of the Northern Northwest Coast mythological narratives challenges the gendered divide between women's craft and men's art, illuminating the role of women in all three cultural settings, and the immense value of women's woven art, poised as it is between the human and spiritual (or non-human) worlds.

Haida, Tsimshian, and Tlingit mythological traditions reveal a sacred connection between the human and the non-human worlds established through basketry and/or weaving. The objects made by women under the original guidance of non-human beings are endowed with power, whether they are carrying crest designs that are mediating tools between human and ancestral figures or whether these objects are themselves the signs or manifestations of the ancestral or natural power. Also common to all three groups is the presence of women, not only as background figures and simple makers of the artefacts in question, whether baskets, aprons, or robes, but as active and primary protagonists in the stories. Finally, in three cultural contexts, no distinction exists between craft and art: all artefacts are manifestations of power.

Biography

Kierra Beament is a PhD candidate at the University of Ottawa, Canada. As a Canadian non-Indigenous researcher, she is interested in Indigenous matrilineal material culture and matrilineal Indigenous cultures around the world. For her PhD thesis, she is focusing on woven materials such as textiles, basketry, and spruce root hats made by Haida, Tsimshian, and Tlingit women. Her research is at its preliminary stages, and her research report is a reflection of her early studies. The oral traditions mentioned in this research report are only a few. A more in-depth examination of Haida, Tlingit, and Tsimshian narratives will have to be made in order to capture the importance of woven material culture in the oral traditions of all three nations.

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Matrix: A Journal for Matricultural Studies

https://www.networkonculture.ca/activities/matrix

Review:

Rena Point Bolton and Richard Daly, *Xwelíqwiya: The Life of a Stó:lõ Matriarch* (Edmonton: AU Press, Athabasca University, 2013). ISBN: 978-1-927356-56-2.

reviewed by LINNÉA ROWLATT, PhD

This volume, at once a personal memoir, a history of the Stó:lõ people (also known as the Xwélmexw people and, in ethnographic literature, as the Fraser River Indians or Lower Fraser Salish), and an ethnography written by a member of the community, amply demonstrates the power of determined cooperation across cultures. To create the autobiography, Xwelíqwiya (Point Bolton) sat regularly with Daly for twenty-five years and shared the stories of her life in a series of conversations. Trained as an anthropologist, Daly transcribed and ordered the stories into the present publication while also involving himself in the Stó:lõ community within which Xwelíqwiya lives and to whom she has dedicated her life's work.

Born shortly before the Depression, a period when the potlatch and other communal Stó:lõ gatherings were banned, Xwelíqwiya and her brother were raised by their maternal grandparents to take on responsibility for *chu'chelángen* (pl; 'esoteric family knowledge, as well as the inherited right and duty to protect that knowledge and bestow it on coming generations', 243). Living alongside the river, Xwelíqwiya grew up as a high-born Stó:lõ woman of the Wolf Clan, learning her language, ceremonies, medicines, and stories along with traditional arts and crafts. When the ban was repealed in 1952, she had the necessary knowledge and skills to contribute to a Stó:lõ cultural revival and, even while her children were small, was invited to become president of the Indian Arts and Crafts Society of British Columbia (IACSBC), part of a provincially-organized network of Indigenous women's clubs known as the Indian Homemakers' Association (IHA). Among other things, these organizations were instrumental in improving conditions for Indigenous people in BC, on- and off-reserve; for calling together the Chiefs of one hundred and forty First Nations across BC, which led to the founding of the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs; and for creating the Aboriginal Mother Centre Society (AMCS)

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in Vancouver's East Side, a drop-in centre where Aboriginal women can still gather and receive support including counselling, advocacy, childcare, education, training, and social support.

Not surprisingly for a community with a strong matriculture, the threads of communication and understanding woven among Indigenous women by Xwelíqwiya and her colleagues spread further than anticipated. These threads, including *Indian Voice*, IHA's monthly newsletter, led to a province-wide realization that common hurdles had been imposed on Indigenous communities by the colonial state, including poverty, exclusion, and the cultural genocide enacted by residential schools and other institutions. Organizing first provincially and then federally to counteract this oppression, groups inspired by the IHA include the National Indian Brotherhood (now the Assembly of First Nations) and the Native Women's Association of Canada.

Xwelíqwiya understands that reviving Indigenous culture is necessary for effective political resistance to colonialism. Along with providing and maintaining avenues of communication among Indigenous homemakers, she organized the construction of a *hík̓w'lalém*, a longhouse for ceremonies, in Sardis, BC; supported the carving of traditional canoes; and created cedar-bark regalia for performances of Stó:lõ song and dance, to name a few initiatives. In 2010, Xwelíqwiya received the British Columbia Lifetime Creative Achievement Award for Aboriginal Art for her work in weaving and basketry (199). She also writes poetry, a few selections of which are included in the autobiography. Consider, for example, this paean of grief from 1986:

A Cry from the Wild

O, cry from the wild, my brothers!
No food, no trees, no free terrain
Run, run from the strangers:
To kill you for sport is their game.

O, cry from the depths, my brothers!
For others have come to pollute your home,
To slay you without prayer or fasting:
Unclean, you die alone.

O, cry from the air, my brothers!
Your wings meant power and sovereignty.
But where is there to fly to?
For radar and death now rule the sky.

O, cry my brown skinned brothers!
Should we lose control of our land
We'll fail to save our brothers

And perish beneath the dying sand.

O, cry for the earth, poor strangers!
For the waste that you have laid,
No longer a land of plenty,
A third world you have made. (161)

Xwelíqwiya's family are bearers of Sxyóyxwey, sacred masks and costumes of the Stó:lõ people; this type of mask and clothing is also known as Sxwaixwai among Vancouver Island's Indigenous community. The right to bear Sxyóyxwey descends through one's mother's lineage, another marker of a strong matriculture. Xwelíqwiya's accounts of receiving her family's Sxyóyxwey, their origins and how they are displayed, along with her lineage and family history, not only communicates the story of one family's heritage but situates it within a vibrant matrilineal culture where the Sxyóyxwey inspire cultural training, moral teachings, intense competition, and far-reaching negotiations between families (116).

Xwelíqwiya's lifelong commitment to bearing *chu'chelángen* is not only found in the cultural revival she and her colleagues led, it is evident in the existence of the autobiography itself: Xwelíqwiya writes explicitly that producing the book is part of leaving a legacy for her descendants, so that they can carry on the work (115). While the book makes clear that certain kinds of knowledge are still being held within the family, Xwelíqwiya's generosity in sharing her culture in a publicly available volume is both a personal legacy for her family and a testament to the continuing existence of a people colonial society attempted to erase.

Richard Daly recognizes the tension between these aspects of the autobiography in his Introduction, where he offers some conceptual road maps to both Xwélmexw and mainstream readers (xlvii – l). His maps support cross-cultural understanding by openly articulating many of the goals and expectations of Xwelíqwiya and her two audiences and providing the context in which they make sense. Daly's role in Xwelíqwiya's autobiography is understood by Xwelíqwiya and her family as that of a 'speaker' – a traditional Stó:lõ office where the appointed person listens carefully, learns to understand and appreciate the views and perspectives of the narrator, and then presents their carefully-considered words to a wider audience. His success in crafting twenty-five years of conversation into a coherent and interesting book is witnessed by the presentation of a talking stick to Dr. Daly by Steven Point, Xwelíqwiya's son, the 28th Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia, and, currently, Chancellor of the University of British Columbia.

The inclusion of this review in *Matrix: A Journal for Matricultural Studies* acknowledges that, for years, matricultural societies on the Pacific Coast have been breaking a state-imposed silence and re-establishing the vitality of their cultures. The journal is dedicated to perceiving what already exists when looking without a patriarchal colonial gaze. An autobiography such as this one informs readers about the inherent strength in matriculture and demonstrates how a society which centralizes

women, such as the Stó:lõ, may be organized. Xwelíqwiya's life is an inspiration and a reminder of the difference one person can make.

Linnéa Rowlatt
Whitehorse
23 March 2022

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